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No.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

BY JOSEPH COOK.

BIOLOGY. With Preludes on Current Events. Three Colored Illustrations. 12mo. Sixteenth thousand $1.50

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HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO., Publishers.

Boston Monday Lectures.

SOCIALISM,

WITH PRELUDES ON CURRENT EVENTS.

By JOSEPH COOK.

It is wicked to withdraw from being useful to the needy, and cowardly to give way to the worthless. — Epictetus.

BOSTON:
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY.
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INTRODUCTION.

THE object of the Boston Monday Lectures is to present the results of the freshest German, English, and American scholarship, on the more important and difficult topics concerning the relations of Religion and Science.

They were begun in the Meionaon in 1875; and the audiences, gathered at noon on Mondays, were of such size as to need to be transferred to Park-street Church in October, 1876, and thence to Tremont Temple, which was often more than full during the winter of 1876–77, and in that of 1877–78. The very capacious auditorium of Tremont Temple was destroyed by fire in August, 1879; and in November, 1879, the lectures were transferred to the Old South Meeting House, the most interesting of the historic edifices of New England.

The audiences have always contained large numbers of ministers, teachers, and other educated men.

The thirty-five lectures given in 1876–77 were reported in the Boston Daily Advertiser, by Mr. J. E. Bacon, stenographer; and most of them were republished in full in New York and London. They are contained in the first, second, and third volumes of "Boston Monday Lectures," entitled "Biology," "Transcendentalism," and "Orthodoxy."

The thirty lectures given in 1877–78 were reported by Mr. Bacon for the Advertiser, and republished in full in New York

and London. They are contained in the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of "Boston Monday Lectures," entitled "Conscience," "Heredity," and "Marriage."

The twenty lectures given in 1878–79 were reported by Mr. Bacon, for the Advertiser, and republished in full in New York and London. They are contained in the seventh and eighth volumes of "Boston Monday Lectures," entitled "Labor" and "Socialism."

In the present volume some of the salient points are:—

1. A consideration of the perils of the United States from susceptibility to communistic and socialistic disease.

2. A defence of the principle of self-help as opposed to that of state-help, as the hope of the poor (Lectures III. and IV.).

3. An exposure of the political blunders of socialism both in theory and practice.

4. A discussion of the experiments made in co-operative industry in England, Germany, and France, and especially of the co-operative savings banks founded by Schulze-Delitzsch (Lectures IV. and V.).

5. An examination of the problem of tenement-houses and over-crowded city populations (Lecture VI.).

6. A study of the methods by which workingmen may become builders and owners of their own homes (Lecture VI.).

7. A defence of high schools as the source of a united citizenship (Lecture VII.).

8. A consideration of Sunday-laws, and of the value of a day of rest and worship as a means of maintaining industrial vigor and political sanity (Lecture VIII.).

9. An examination of the temperance question in the light of recent discoveries as to the influence of alcohol on the brain (Lecture IX.).

10. A defence of woman's right to the ballot in regard to temperance and education (Lecture X.).

The names of the gentlemen constituting the Committee now in charge of the Boston Monday Lectureship are as follows:—

Hon. A. H. Rice, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts.
Hon. William Claflin, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts.
Rev. George Z. Gray, D.D., Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge.
Right Rev. Bishop Paddock.
Prof. E. P. Gould, Newton Theological Institution.
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President James McCosh, Princeton, N.J.
B. W. Williams, *Secretary and Treasurer.*

HENRY F. DURANT, *Chairman.*

PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

In the careful reports of Mr. Cook's Lectures printed in the Boston Daily Advertiser, were included by the stenographer sundry expressions (applause, &c.) indicating the immediate and varying impressions with which the Lectures were received. Though these reports have been thoroughly revised by the author, the publishers have thought it advisable to retain these expressions. Mr. Cook's audiences included, in large numbers, representatives of the broadest scholarship, the profoundest philosophy, the acutest scientific research, and generally of the finest intellectual culture, of Boston and New England; and it has seemed admissible to allow the larger assembly to which these Lectures are now addressed to know how they were received by such audiences as those to which they were originally delivered.

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I.

SOCIALISM AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, JAN. 13.

Cease to brag to me of America, and its model institutions and constitutions. America, too, will have to strain its energies, crack its sinews, and all but break its heart, as the rest of us have had to do, in thousand-fold wrestle with the Pythons and mud-demons, before it can become a habitation for the gods. America's battle is yet to fight. New spiritual Pythons, plenty of them; enormous Megatherions, as ugly as ever were born of mud, loom huge and hideous out of the twilight future on America; and she will have her own agony and her own victory, but on other terms than she is yet quite aware of. — CARLYLE: *Latter Day Pamphlets.*

Prima societas in ipso conjugio est: proxima in liberis; deinde una domus, communia omnia. — CICERO: *Offic.*, i. 17.

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SOCIALISM.

I.

SOCIALISM AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

It is an Arabian legend, that, when the ostrich was told to carry a load, it answered, "I cannot, I am a bird;" and, when it was told to fly, it answered, "I cannot, I am a camel." It is also an Arabian legend, that, when the rats were taxed, the bat said, "I am a bird;" and, when the birds were taxed, the bat said, "I am a rat." The National Liberal Infidel League says it is not the Free Religious Association, and the Free Religious Association says it is not the National Liberal League. I am perfectly aware that they are two organizations, and that they are no more nearly connected than father and son. [Applause.] But why is the Free Religious Association now anxious to disown the National Liberal League?

In the city of Berne, in Switzerland, there is a statue of a hideous ogre eating a child. The pockets

of the monster are filled with girls and boys waiting for the cracking of their bones and the extraction of their marrow between the teeth of the cannibal. This ghastly figure is a fit representation of the god which American infidelity, in clamorously demanding the repeal of all laws against the infamous use of the mails, has lately set up for public worship. It is a matter of painful notoriety, that, according to the testimony of an alarmed and protesting minority, a large majority of the National Liberal League of infidels have formally entered the service of this god of the slimiest part of the pit. Their lecturers and newspapers are his hierophants. The youth of the land, so far as he can reach them, are between his teeth. Unspeakably loathsome and abominable men and women, whose trade is the corruption of the young, dare to petition Congress, in the name of a free press, to abolish all laws against a debauched use of the mails; that is, to allow this fiend, as odious as Astarte and as cruel as Baal, to reach his prey without let or hinderance. A majority of the National Liberal League of infidels seconds this desire. The greed of the pocket and the greed of the teeth are combined.

1. Of course it is evident, even to a mind uneducated in the law, that there must be a federal regulation concerning the use of the mails, if we are to keep the United States Government itself from assisting moral cancer-planters. Whoever sells infamous publications in any State of the American Union becomes amenable to the laws of that State.

If, however, a ghoul of the slums sends his wares from one State to another by the mails, it is in most cases difficult or impossible to convict him under the laws of either. Even when the laws allow such conviction, it usually becomes impracticable on account of the difficulty of proof, and of ferreting out and securing the offender. Venders of infamous literature, therefore, do their business as much as possible through the mails. Purify the post-office from this traffic, and you confine it to comparatively narrow limits. The shield of State rights is greatly coveted by the corrupters of youth, and their scheme is to clamor against any federal regulation as to the transmission of their wares through the mails.

In 1873 Congress passed an excellent law forbidding venders of infamous literature to tamper with the national mails, and appointing an efficient postal expert, specially charged with the duty of exposing the violators of the statute.

It is highly significant that nobody complained, and nobody thought of complaining, of the law, except infidels, free religionists, and corrupt publishers.

A petition was sent to Congress in 1878, in favor of the repeal of the postal law of 1873. The New York agent of the Society for the Prevention of Vice was very much surprised to see, in the list of signatures to it, the names of several important firms who had usually been his friends. He asked these personally, if it was indeed true that they had petitioned for the repeal of the regulations of 1873. "We have never put our names down on any such

petition," was the reply. "Are you willing to say so in writing?" They were of course not unwilling to place themselves outside the black ranks of those who had signed this petition. The leading firms gave him written authority to say that their names on the document were forgeries. He appeared before a committee of Congress with this evidence, and in a very short speech defeated the petition. In New York so much forgery of this kind is done, that the procedure is regarded as an old trick; and, if public attention has not been called to it through newspaper discussion, it is because fraud of the sort has been so frequently attempted by corrupt publishers and infidel societies in large cities.

An official document, in which a committee of Congress recommends that the postal laws of 1873 should not be changed, contains, as a fly in amber, and in the evil conspicuity of an irreversible public record, the name of the foremost infidel lecturer in the United States.

"*Forty-fifth Congress, second session: House of Representatives, Report No. 888. Repeal of certain sections of the Revised Statutes. May 31, 1878, laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.*

"Mr. Bicknell, from the committee on the Revision of the Laws, submitted the following report: —

"The committee on the Revision of the Laws, to whom was referred the petition of *Robert G. Ingersoll* and others, praying for the repeal or modification of sections 1785, 3878, 3893, 5389, and 2491, of the Revised Statutes, have had the same under consideration, and have heard the petitioners at length.

"*In the opinion of your committee, the post-office was not estab-*

lished to carry instruments of vice or obscene writings, indecent pictures, or lewd books.

"Your committee believe that the statutes in question do not violate the Constitution of the United States, and ought not to be changed: they recommend, therefore, that the prayer of said petition be denied."

The unimpeachable authority of this document shows what was asked for, and who asked for it, and why it was not granted.

Under the law of 1873, it is possible to prevent the sending of corrupt matter from State to State, or by mail at all. If you can only execute the federal law against the corrupt use of the mails, you can do much to confine the corrupting of youth to cities. You now have on this topic legislation connecting Commonwealth with Commonwealth, and inter-State in all its operations. The execution of this most necessary and righteous federal law is what pinches cancer-planters; and it is of that, or of that chiefly, that they make complaint.

2. In Boston, in November, 1877, there was an infamous convention of a lepers' league at Nassau Hall. In the course of its proceedings, a woman, not a lady, who was the wife of a man recently pardoned out of Dedham Jail, stood at the front of the platform, and in the presence of two hundred men and boys disgraced herself by language which cannot be reported here, and could not be indicated even distantly without giving great offence. One of the friends of the law of 1873 happened to be in the audience, and went out for a policeman; and when

the president of the gang who were governing that convention — some of them ex-convicts, others of them sellers of corrupt literature — appeared in the anteroom, he was arrested. On learning the news, even that audience heartily applauded. He was tried, and, as you know, sent to Dedham Jail. There was a very full discussion of his case. Judge Clark first decided against him. The character of the paper he had been publishing at Princeton in this State was brought forward as one evidence of his immoral character. He advertised to sell a book, the name of which I shall not advertise by mentioning it; and called for "agents — girls and women particularly successful." The publication demands the abrogation of all laws against infamous crimes. It preaches the "natural right of man to commit adultery."

It was claimed that the law under which this criminal was convicted was unconstitutional. Delay was requested; and the judge presiding at the trial postponed the final disposition of the case until Judge Clifford, the senior justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, could be here, and assist in determining that question. After full consideration, both judges decided that the law was clearly constitutional. (See "Daily Advertiser," leading article, July 31, 1878.) By the concurrence of both of them, the defendant, on the 25th of June last, was sent to Dedham Jail for two years' hard work, and fined one hundred dollars.

He was not in vigorous health. The newspaper statement was, that it was feared that he would die

in jail. Some of the persons who started the forged petition in New York City started another. One or two criminals who have been in prison in New York and New Jersey came to Boston as drummers; and by forgery, or by a very vigorous canvass among persons of their own opinions, they obtained a petition which it is claimed had seven thousand signatures, asking for the release of this criminal from Dedham Jail.

At the instigation of the cancer-planter gang, items were published saying that Judge Clifford had signed the petition. He has denied this charge in a letter over his own name.

It is exceedingly unusual for a criminal to be pardoned without reference being made to the judge who sentenced him. Go to the lawyers who are acquainted with this case, and you will find them expressing indignation on account of the abandonment of all established usages in the granting of this pardon. Never but once before has any criminal convicted in this federal court been pardoned without reference of the case back from Washington to the authorities here for the facts. It is a wholly unwarranted abuse of the pardoning power, to discharge a criminal with no effort to hear both sides.

Judge Clifford's decision could have been supported by a most significant petition, if only time had been allowed. The proper department at Washington was informed of this fact. Who ever heard before of a pardon being granted a criminal who avowed no penitence, but said he would repeat his offence?

The decision of Judge Clifford was a very mild one. The penalty fixed by Congress was a fine of not less than one hundred nor more than five thousand dollars, and imprisonment for not less than one year and not more than ten years. In view of all the circumstances, since it was the first offence, and since the defendant could not be sentenced to the State Prison with the hope that the offence would not be repeated, the court sent the criminal to Dedham Jail for a year. This disposal of the case was approved by all the respectable press of this city. "The spirit of the law," said Judge Clifford, "is for the protection of the community; and the court cannot overlook the community in passing this sentence."

It is said that Attorney-General Devens was imposed upon. No time was given for another petition. It was supposed that nothing lacking in respectability could come from Boston. Perhaps the good name of Boston, and the fear that the criminal would die in jail, were the chief influences causing his liberation. The management of the petition was in New York more than in Boston, and chiefly in the hands, in both places, of ex-convicts whose imprisonment was inflicted for the violation of the United States postal laws. Cancer-planters had the ear of the pardoning power, and filled it with lies. This is very frank speech, my friends; but there is a public necessity for candor on this theme. If you do not care to be responsible for what is said here, I do; and am entirely willing to take all the blows that may come. [Applause.]

3. It is fair to apply the epithet "free religious" to the majority of the National Liberal Leagues who clamor for the abrogation of the righteous postal laws of our nation. I open the infidel newspaper which now so justly criticises the majority of these leagues, and I read that this journal is "devoted to free religion." That is the language of its prospectus. If a newspaper announces that it is devoted to the interests of the Republican party, is it not a Republican newspaper? If it affirms that its purpose is to advance the interests of the Democratic party, is it not a Democratic paper? And if it says in its prospectus, as this paper does, that its object is to promote free religion, is it not a free religious paper? Is it not perfectly fair to call it such? This same prospectus says, "In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which this paper is specially devoted is the organization of the Liberals of the country. . . . This paper will henceforth have for its chief practical aim the organization of a great national party of freedom." It is perfectly well understood, that the local leagues constituting the National Liberal League were organized chiefly through the discussions contained in this sheet. If, now, a Democratic paper says that its chief object is to organize leagues, I conclude that these leagues when organized by a Democratic paper will be Democratic leagues. If a Republican paper announces that its chief business is to found leagues, I conclude that it means Republican leagues. So, when a paper which is devoted to free religion announces that its

chief work is to form leagues, I must infer that these leagues when formed will be free religious leagues; and defy any man, who is straightforward, to question my right to do so.

No connection, indeed, between free religion and the National Liberal Leagues! Several of the officers of the two associations are the same. Here is the authorized report of the Free Religious Association for 1874, and I find in it the following very significant language (p. 15): —

"This is specially a report of what has been done by your committee during the past year, in behalf of the principles for which the Free Religious Association was organized. But we can hardly forbear mentioning other signs of activity in the same general direction, though outside of their immediate proceedings, and which help to mark the year as one of progress; as, for instance, *the organization of some twenty or more liberal leagues* in different parts of the country, the starting of several local free religious societies for Sunday meetings, the building of the new and elegant hall by the old Free Society at Florence, the dedication of the fine Parker Memorial building in Boston."

These movements are all closely affiliated. The publications of the National League, and of the Free Religious Association, are sold in Boston from the same street-number. This report says that an assistant editor of the paper which has founded the leagues "has generously and faithfully had charge of the sales-table, and responded to such orders for our publications as have been sent to the office, and for this painstaking service he deserves the gratitude of our Association. *The office, being up three flights of*

stairs, is too difficult of access for entire satisfaction; yet, notwithstanding this disadvantage, has already proved itself a great convenience, not to say necessity, and, all things considered, very well answers the present needs of the Association."

Of course I know the Free Religious Association, as such, refused to send representatives to a convention of liberal leagues at Philadelphia. I know there have been protests by individuals in the Free Religious Association, against the action of the majority at Syracuse. I know very well that there is a minority who now assert that the majority has gone over to the worship of the cannibal god.

The history of free religion in the United States is so suggestive, however, that we must not permit the story to be thrown into confusion by any use of the tactics condemned in the Arabian legends. The glory of our country, it is pretended, is likely to be injured by legislation against the freedom of the press and of speech. If our civilization is once Gallicised and Romanized in the corrupt sense, out of free mails will come, I do not know what; but in old Rome free poison came out of them, and free daggers! American civilization is not so sweet that we can be easily wheedled into speaking of a mild and gentle assassination or a pious devil. The gauze of reverence for free speech thrown over the cannibal god Cancer-Planter, this ogre eating the youth of the land, is so thin, that, like the gauzes worn in India, twenty of them would not make a decent veil.

Go to the superb scholar who is at the head of

the highest school for girls in Boston, and he will tell you that his institution publishes no catalogue, and for the same reason that the resplendent school I cited here the other day publishes none. Correspondence received in seminaries of certain grades is often examined before it can be safely delivered. I was told the other day, by a lady who had just passed through a female-seminary, that she thought it a great hardship that her mail was examined. It was not always opened, but it was sometimes. There was a right to open it, and the parents justified the arrangement. Facts like these make the blood run cold.

On the part of the Boston free religious newspaper which has founded the liberal leagues, there has been any amount of clucking, as from a brood-hen, to draw her young chickens under her wings again; but with all her clucking in the last two months, since the separation at Syracuse, she has now only five chickens under her wings, that is, only five out of some seventy-five local leagues; and all the rest, according to her own confession, are brooded by the black angels. [Applause.]

I read in this Boston infidel sheet, that the criminal lately pardoned out of Dedham Jail, and who asserts his natural right to commit adultery, has a heavy account to settle with the conscience of the community. Thank God that a little sense has been left to the small and timorous infidel minority! But, as to the liberal leagues which this editor denounces, one of the foremost literary men, who was once friendly to the Free Religious Association, said to me, "They are all his own chickens."

On the list of officers of the Free Religious Association, are the names of several men who are supposed to be ashamed of their position. Even Mr. Frothingham has lately said that he does not care to be represented any longer in any way such as will make him responsible for what the majority of these liberal leagues may do. He is, perhaps, as radical a person as there is among any men known to the public on these lists of officers; but he is not radical enough to strike hands with quack doctors and the publishers of corrupt literature, and cancer-planters recently from jail, and who stand before the nation offering incense to the cannibal god. The fact I emphasize, however, is that the overwhelming majority are of utterly different opinions, and are having their own way.

4. There is little effective opposition now, by the feeble infidel minority, to that large infidel majority which the minority itself has denounced as corrupt.

5. Out of free religion has grown free irreligion, and, out of infidel liberalism, immorality.

Nothing can be done, you say? In two hundred cases where arrests have been made, only five have failed, so perfect has been the evidence, and so are juries united. More than three-quarters of the infamous publications once on sale have been driven utterly out of the market. Infidel attack on the purity of the mails not preventable? Why, this cannibal god can be buried under the mire, if you please, as the old Germans buried the adulterer alive! It is our duty to bury him so deep that he will be out

of the reach of the spades of all those of his gang who pretend to be moved solely by reverence for free speech and a free press. [Applause.] I undertake to say to those here who respect free religion, that if they wish to prove their free religion to be literally and strictly free irreligion, they have only to go on in the course which has been pursued by the majority of the infidel liberal leagues of this country for the last twelve months. [Applause.] The minority is the witness against the majority.

THE LECTURE.

Henry IV. of France once said — and the remark has been gratefully remembered for two hundred years — that he hoped the day would come when every peasant in his kingdom might have, as often as he pleased, a chicken for dinner. If there is a political ruler in the civilized part of the world who would not say this now, he is as much an exception to the drift of the age, and to the tendencies of history for the last two hundred years, as the Gulf Stream is to the general drift of the Atlantic. But, when Henry IV. said this, the speech was a very singular one for a great ruler to make. Every thing in history for the last two centuries illustrates God's pity for the poor, and the progress of democratic ideas. When every peasant can have, as often as he pleases, a chicken for dinner, will not both the pauper and the millionnaire be improved off the face of the earth? [Applause.] So thinks socialism; and, if God thinks so, the result will be

accomplished. What God thinks, we find out after he has acted. De Tocqueville said he regarded the progress of democratic principles in government as a providential fact, the result of a divine decree. It was universal. It was enduring. It was irresistible. All men and all events contributed to its progress. He found in it the sacred characteristics of a providential fact; and, although not given to superstition, he stood in awe before this current in history. But the progress of democratic ideas is only one illustration of God's pity for the poor. The day has come, for nearly the whole world that can be called civilized, when to say what Henry IV. said, is to say nothing singular.

If the growth of socialistic political parties is to be fostered by the growth of popular intelligence and democratic ideas in government, it is evident that the success of socialistic parties is certain. You think I am making a careless concession; but I am no socialist. Do you judge that the necessary result of the progress of intelligence among the masses, and of democratic ideas in government, must bring socialism to the front in our political organizations? Professor Fawcett, in opening his present course of lectures at Oxford, said that if the growth of the socialistic political vote progressed in Germany and in the United States for the next fifty years as it has for the last fifty, capital can do nothing effectual against socialism. [Applause.] You notice how parts of this audience are aflame with the opinions of socialists, which I am perfectly willing should be expressed

here. I shall not answer these pistol-shots except by artillery at long range. I have discussed labor; and, because I have been on the side of labor-reform, you may have thought that I am on the side of socialism. I admit, with Professor Fawcett, that the growth of the socialistic political vote is very ominous, and that trouble surely lies ahead of us if the growth continues to be as rapid as it has been; but I do not see that the great current which put De Tocqueville in awe, floats socialism. I see that it floats the cause of the poor. Because I am a defender of the poor, I am against socialism. [Applause.]

What are the fundamental principles of American socialistic parties? Heretofore I have allowed our discussions to include Europe; but, in order to be definite, I must now draw your attention exclusively to the United States.

A distinction is to be made between the ultimate purposes and the preparatory measures of socialists seeking political power. I have conversed with many socialists, with many working-men, and with some leaders of trades-unions; and I find that nearly all who are endeavoring to promote socialistic measures or labor-reform through politics know very well the distinction between the thin end and the thick end of the wedge. In Europe this distinction is well understood, and it ill becomes the discussion of this platform to fail in emphasizing a distinction which the socialistic labor party in this country itself proclaims. It is important to draw a clear distinction

between radicals, ringleaders, ultra men in socialistic ranks, and the average socialist. Thoroughgoing socialism means the abolition of inheritance, the abolition of the family, and ultimately the abolition of religion in any decent sense of the word. All these propositions can be proved from the public positions taken in Europe by ringleaders. The most ultimate purposes of all are little discussed here as yet. A set of purposes just this side of these ultimate ones is privately proposed, but the preparatory measures are the chief matters publicly discussed.

The ultimate purposes of socialistic political parties in the United States are, according to their own statement: —

1. Abolition of inheritance of land or any other means of production, such as machinery, railroads, telegraph-lines, and canals.

2. Abolition of private property in land or any other means of the production of wealth.

3. Abolition of the wages system.

4. Abolition of the competitive system.

5. National ownership of all land and other means of production.

6. Governmental aid to co-operative associations.

7. A graded income tax.

8. Paper currency or fiat money.

After having read many socialist platforms in German and French and English, I have selected that of the socialistic labor party of the United States as the most definite and candid of them all.

I offer the text of it in proof of the correctness of my distinction between the ultimate purposes and the preparatory measures of Socialism, and of the justice of the analysis I have given of the ends at which the movement aims. The document, which I can read here only in part, but which will be printed in full in the authorized report of this lecture, is a curious sign of the times, and deserves study in detail. I quote it as it stands every week in "The Socialist," of Chicago: —

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

"Labor being the source of all wealth and civilization, and useful labor being possible only by and through the associated efforts of the people, the means of labor should therefore, in all justice, belong to society.

"The system under which society is now organized is imperfect, and hostile to the general welfare, since, through it, the directors of labor, necessarily a small minority, are enabled in the competitive struggle to practically monopolize all the means of labor, — all opportunities to produce for and supply the wants of the people, — and the masses are therefore maintained in poverty and dependence. The industrial emancipation of labor — which must be achieved by the working classes themselves, independent of all political parties but their own — is consequently the great end to which every political movement should be subordinate as a means.

"Since the ruling political parties have always sought only the direct interests of the dominant or wealthy class, and endeavored to uphold their industrial supremacy, and to perpetuate the present condition of society, it is now the duty of the working people to organize themselves into one great labor party, using political power to achieve industrial independence. The material condition of the working people in all civilized

countries being identical, and resulting from the same cause, the struggle for industrial emancipation is international, and must naturally be co-operative and mutual: therefore the organization of national and international trades and labor unions, upon a socialistic basis, is an absolute necessity.

"For these reasons the Socialistic Labor Party has been founded.

"We demand that the resources of life — the means of production, public transportation and communication (land, machinery, railroads, telegraph-lines, canals, &c.) — become, as fast as practicable, the common property of the whole people, through the Government; thus to abolish the wages system, and substitute in its stead co-operative production, with a just distribution of its rewards.

"The Socialistic Labor Party presents the following demands as measures to ameliorate the working people under our present competitive system, and to gradually accomplish the entire removal of the same: —

"1. Eight hours, for the present, as the legal working-day, and prompt punishment for all violations.

"2. Sanitary inspection of all conditions of labor (means of subsistence and dwellings included).

"3. Bureaus of labor statistics in all States, as well as in the National Government. The officers of the same to be elected by the people.

"4. Prohibition of the use of prison labor by private employers or corporations.

"5. Prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen years of age, in industrial establishments.

"6. Compulsory education of all children under fourteen years of age. All materials, books, &c., necessary in the public schools, to be furnished free of charge.

"7. Prohibition of the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality; and equalization of women's wages with those of men, where equal service is performed.

"8. Strict laws making employers liable for all accidents

resulting, through their negligence, to the injury of their employés.

"9. All wages to be paid in the lawful money of the nation, and at intervals of time not exceeding one week. Violations of this rule to be legally punished.

"10. All conspiracy laws operating against the right of working-men to strike, or to induce others to strike, shall be repealed.

"11. Gratuitous administration of justice in all courts of law.

"12. All indirect taxation to be abolished, and a graded income tax to be collected in its stead.

"13. All banking and insurance to be conducted by the government.

"14. The right of suffrage shall in no wise be abridged.

"15. Direct popular legislation, enabling the people to propose or reject any law at their will; and introduction of minority representation in all legislative elections.

"16. Every public officer shall be, at all times, subject to prompt recall by the election of a successor."

Professor Fawcett, last October, at the University of Oxford, summarized the demands of European socialism; and I think it a part of my duty, as an outlook committee, to cite his language in contrast with this American document:—

"After having carefully examined the proposals of the leading German socialists, and after having read the proceedings of the various socialistic congresses which have been held in recent years, I think it will be admitted that the following is a full and fair statement of the programme of modern socialism:—

"1. That there should be no private property, and that no one should be permitted to acquire property by inheritance. That all should be compelled to labor, no one having a right to live without labor.

"2. The nationalization of the land, and of the other instruments of production; or, in other words, the state should own all the land, capital, machinery, — in fact, every thing which constitutes the industrial plant of a country, — in order that every industry may be carried on by the state.

"These proposals to prohibit inheritance, to abolish private property, and to make the state the owner of all the capital, and the administrator of the entire industry of the country, are put forward as representing socialism in its ultimate and highest development. The socialists themselves admit that, as there is no immediate prospect of obtaining their objects in a complete form, it will be desirable to put forward proposals which involve a less fundamental change; and the following may consequently be regarded as the objects to be first striven for. These objects are regarded as not only desirable in themselves, but are looked upon as facilitating the complete realization of the socialistic idea: —

"The establishment of co-operative agricultural and manufacturing associations supported by the state.

"Universal, compulsory, and free education.

"3. A progressive income tax, and the abolition of indirect taxation.

"4. The limitation by the state of the length of the day's work.

"5. The sanitary inspection of mines, factories, and workmen's dwellings.

"6. The state should find work for the unemployed by constructing public works, the necessary funds being supplied by an unlimited issue of paper money."

The nationalization of the land is the great measure of socialism. It was the demand of the International Association before its practical disbandment, and to-day it is the groundwork on which most of the purposes of socialism, when it forms itself into a political phalanx, are founded. Do I mean to say

that if socialists have a majority at the polls the land will be nationalized by a vote compelling the spoliation of our agricultural class? Do I mean to affirm that there is not a distinction between compulsory socialism and that kind of socialism which may come in America when socialists have a majority? My reply to these questions is, that nobody knows what will happen in the future, except from the instruction of what has happened in the past. For one, I do not think that the sober socialistic leaders — if there are any — really contemplate spoliation in this country. They very rarely, when interrogated in private, will admit that they think land can be taken from its present owners, and nationalized, without compensation. You are often told that socialism means nationalization of the land, and that nobody is to be paid for it; but I suppose there would be a pretence of payment. There might be about such payment, perhaps, as a railway makes when it must buy land to have freedom for traffic. There will be compulsory sale of land, railways, canals, machinery, and other means of production, if the majority ever become socialists in this country.

How is money to be obtained to pay for this compulsory sale? Out of a graded income-tax. That means the abolition of all indirect taxation. According to the size of a man's income will be the amount of the tax he pays. If you are economical, industrious, and fortunate enough to have an income of a thousand dollars, you will be taxed twice as much as a man whose income is only five hundred. The

scheme of many socialists is to make the increase of the income-tax much faster than the increase of fortune, so that great fortunes shall be discouraged. If you should ever be so fortunate as to have an income of twenty thousand dollars, you would probably find it for your interest not to have an income of more than fifteen thousand. Under a graded income-tax eating up large fortunes, and under denial of all right of inheritance, men would soon find it for their interest to have no income at all, and pay only a poll-tax. Production would thus be hamstrung.

A graded income-tax, however, is the source from which socialistic philosophers think of getting their money to buy — what? Why, all the land from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate! How much money would be required to buy this from its present possessors? A good deal more than our present national income. How are you going to get money to pay for it out of a graded income-tax? Here is the first rock against which socialistic philosophy splinters itself. Let us suppose that there is a proposition to buy all the land of England, a little island over yonder in the sea. Professor Fawcett has shown that the money which would be needed to pay for that land would be more than the present income of the United Kingdom, although that income is a thousand million pounds annually.

The interest on the money required to buy the land of the United States from its present individual owners would be more than the present income of the

nation. You could not raise the interest! If you should try to negotiate any such immense loan, you would find business-men staring at you, even if you were in a majority. If you purposed to borrow money to pay for the lands of the United States, they would ask how you are to divide and occupy the lands. How are you to distribute the farms after you have bought them? Here is Utah; you must water the Territory to make it profitable. Who will go to Utah, and who will stay in the fat valley of the Mississippi? No competition! Who will be called upon to divide the land among the people, so many square feet a head? Who will take the task of deciding where the poor lands are, and where the rich lands are, and how much lands are to be increased in price by nearness to great commercial centres? *Will there be any jobbery in your politics when you have all the lands of the nation to dispose of?* [Applause.] Jobbery! Corruption! Tyranny! These are the teeth of the reefs lying at the bottom of the socialistic political whirlpool. God deliver the world from setting the cause of the poor afloat on any current running into that maelstrom! When the sea is calm, the tusks of jobbery, patronage, greed, and fraud jut through the foam, and can be seen above the whirlpool from afar. [Applause.]

Henry Wilson stood on this platform a few years ago, and said that if the cause of prohibition was to go up in Massachusetts, he proposed to go up with it, and, if it was to go down, he proposed to go down with it. Soon after that speech was delivered, a

Presidential election occurred, and the German vote in several of the Western States came near defeating the Republican candidate. I do not impeach Mr. Wilson's patriotism. No man reveres Henry Wilson more than I; but it is one of the secrets of politics in Massachusetts, that Mr. Wilson, after he saw how disaffection in the German vote in the West might turn a Presidential election, advised the Republicans in the East not to weight their platforms with the advocacy of prohibitory laws. Only a few stretches of disaffected political sentiment in the Mississippi Valley made callow and limp the most stalwart statesman of the East on the topic of prohibition. You say that even under universal suffrage, and lax laws as to education, there is no danger in the United States from socialism as a political power. But let a few patches of foreign-born populations in the Mississippi Valley, in Chicago, in St. Louis, in San Francisco, be affected by these political heresies in such a way that their vote as a make-weight may imperil a Presidential election, and who can be sure that even the leading political parties will stand erect under that danger? It need not be that you should wait until socialism has carried a State. You need not wait until it has a majority in the lower branches of several State legislatures. You will find that political parties of the average orthodoxy in the East and West will need vertebrating the moment there is a socialistic vote so large as to imperil a Presidential election when closely contested. [Applause.]

II.

SOCIALISM A POLITICAL BLUNDER.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, JAN. 20.

Should Plutus recover his sight, and distribute his favors equally, no man would trouble himself with the theory of any art, nor with the exercise of any craft. If these two should once disappear, who afterwards would become a brazier, a shipwright, a tailor, a wheelwright, a shoemaker, a brickmaker, a dyer, or a skinner? Or who will plough up the bowels of the earth in order to reap the fruits of Ceres, if it is once possible to live with neglect of these things? — ARISTOPHANES.

Cæsar was Rome's escape from communism. I expect no Cæsar; I find on our map no Rubicon. But then, I expect to see communistic madness rebuked and ended. If not rebuked and ended, I shall have to say, as many a sad-eyed Roman must have said nineteen hundred years ago, *I prefer civilization to the Republic.* — PROFESSOR R. D. HITCHCOCK: *Socialism.*

II.

SOCIALISM A POLITICAL BLUNDER.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

For more than two hundred years, seasons of business depression have occurred with mysterious regularity at periods of ten years and a fraction. In Great Britain and Western Europe there were business manias and bursting commercial bubbles, producing great depression, in 1743, 1753, 1763, 1773, 1783, and 1793. In this century, if you take into view the United States as well as Great Britain, France, and Germany, you find commercial depressions occurring in 1815, 1825, 1835–39, 1845, 1855, and 1866. Although we had an exception to the rule in our depression of 1873, Great Britain is now, in 1878–79, passing through a period of great financial distress.

It has amused the world to find grave political economists attributing the recurrence of these depressions to the influence of the spots on the sun in producing droughts in India, and unfruitful vineyards in Europe. It is certain that good vintage-

years on the Continent of Europe, and droughts in India, recur every ten or eleven years. It seems probable to no less a man than Professor Stanley Jevons, that commercial crises are connected with periodic variations of the weather, affecting all parts of the earth, and arising from increased waves of heat received from the sun at average intervals of ten years and a fraction. (*Primer of Political Economy*, 1878.) An abundant supply of the sun's heat increases the harvests, and begins the hopefulness out of which a commercial bubble grows. A diminished supply injures the harvests, deranges commercial enterprise, and so bursts the bubble.

What are called credit cycles last, therefore, about ten years. The first three years generally exhibit depression; then you have three years of healthy trade, and then come say two years of excited trade. Your ninth year is a bubble, and your tenth year is its explosion and collapse. The best time to invest money is, of course, during the period of depression. It will not do to put your money into the same business that everybody is going into; for there will be too many people doing that one thing, and so much over-production in the business that goods made by it must be sold cheap. Buy your factories at the time of depression, when they can be had at half their cost. Avoid following the example of Sir Isaac Newton, who endeavored to purchase stock in the South Sea bubble on the day when that speculation was at its highest. Observe the good vintage-years in Europe, and the droughts in India, and

regulate your relations to periods of business depression accordingly. This is the wisdom of those who find the chief cause of commercial panics in spots on the physical sun.

It is our business to study not only the spots on the sun, but those also which impede the light of the sun behind the sun. One would think, in view of the corruptions of modern trade, that the latter are far more efficient than the former in producing commercial crises. What is the chief spot on the sun behind the sun of modern civilization? The disproportionate growth of great cities, and the fact that large towns usually lose the Master's whip of small cords. Cities easily forget how to hiss vice. Too many churches are brought under the influence of the average standards of the great commercial centres. The press of our chief cities is not as indignant as the average sentiment of the country-side concerning defalcations, bankruptcies, and the unscrupulous sharpness which so undermines credit. It is true, the laws of trade are understood in the cities better than in the country-side; but so many dishonest things are done in the great towns, that the average merchant, even the average editor, and sometimes the average preacher, contents himself by saying, when he hears of business dishonesty, that it is an old trick. Swindles are the newspapers' daily food. The tone of public discussion is thus relaxed. When honesty is unexacting, there comes into existence what I call a grinning and a flabby commercial liberalism, the most costly mood that

commerce can put on. As often as failures occur, credits are injured; we are suspicious of each other in proportion to the number of frauds and dishonest bankruptcies. Distrust makes necessary a higher rate of interest. "The costliest unclean beast," Thorold Rogers says, "that society can keep in its menagerie, is an unpunished commercial rogue." [Applause.]

In the growth of great cities there is a deteriorating effect, not only for average mercantile sentiment, but for legislation itself. Look at the bankruptcy-law of the United States! Congress has power to make a uniform law concerning bankruptcies, but how much have we felt that power in exercise in the United States? In France commercial panics are very few; and you will find the business honor of that nation expressed in a severe bankrupt-law. Napoleon had something to do, in his famous code, with making it; and even Englishmen regard the French bankrupt-law as cautious beyond measure, unsparing, and even tyrannical. Bankruptcies are so dishonorable in France, that very often a bankrupt will leave his native city in order not to be obliged to face the men he has swindled. Sometimes he leaves his native country, even when he has failed through no great fault of his own. French public sentiment so unflinchingly condemns a man who acquires the name of bankrupt, either by rash speculation or by purposed commercial mischief, that it has been known again and again that a son would submit to the most pinching poverty for years, practising more than the proverbial French thrift, in order to

take a stain off the name of a father. It has not been unknown, that a father in France has pined away and died because of the accidental bankruptcy of a son. Say, if you please, that all this is carrying the matter too far; it remains true that panics are few in France, although the spots on the physical sun affect her as much as us. France has paid an enormous fine with a rapidity unknown in any similar case in past history; and the best hope for that republic to-day is her high commercial honor.

What have we done with our power to pass a national bankrupt-law? In 1800 we enacted a bankrupt-law limiting itself to five years' operations, but it was repealed in three years. Of course there are State bankrupt-laws; but they are suspended wherever a national bankrupt-law is in force. The State laws on bankruptcies are not all alike; nor are all of them good ones. By emigrating from Commonwealth to Commonwealth, and getting local lawyers to defend you, it is possible for you to make your bankruptcy a relief from honest debts, unless you come under the power of a federal bankrupt-law. We ran along at odds and ends, doing nothing with our national power concerning a bankrupt-law, until 1841, when a second law was passed. This was largely in the interests of the debtor class created by the panic of 1837. It was repealed a few years afterwards; and we ran on then, at odds and ends again, until 1867, and then the third bankrupt-law of the United States was passed. This was modified somewhat in 1874, but it was the last one. Anybody

whose property is worth over three hundred dollars can declare himself unable to pay his debts, and take the benefit of the law, putting his assets at the mercy of his creditors. The law makes no discrimination among the creditors. It was passed in the interest of the debtor class. It is more popular with creditors than no law would be, but business men and lawyers complain of many of its operations. What I am alarmed by is, that Parisian sentiment, and that French opinion which we call so lawless, has been sterner on this great theme of commercial honor than even Puritan New England, and than an American republic which prides itself on its good judgment and on its honesty. This lax use of our power to pass a bankruptcy-law is just as indicative of low commercial honor in this nation as the sternness of the bankruptcy-law of France is indicative of high commercial honor in that nation. No doubt we can fold our arms, and stand in a haughty attitude, when we contrast some of the other traits of American civilization with some of those of the Parisian; but, in regard to this central matter, I think our sister republic on the Seine has much to teach America yet. [Applause.]

While legislation is lax concerning commercial crimes, what can the Church do? Defaulters among church-members, swindles organized by men who have stood high in God's house, unscrupulous sharpness among those who have been prominent in the endeavor to bring men into a new life! On both sides of the Atlantic these spots are visible in the

enswathement of the sun behind the sun. What are we to say when infidels point out these spots? It is not enough to reply that the spots are all the more conspicuous because they are on the sun, although that is the truth. *The brightness of the sunbeam of professed Christianity makes visible the myriad motes that float in it. These are unseen in common unilluminated air.*

Nor is it enough to say that the exposure of crime is growing more frequent, and that crime is not doing so, although this perhaps is true.

Shall we reply that legislation is lax? But why is legislation lax? Is it out of the power of the Church to create a proper sentiment on the topic of commercial honor? A better reply is the frank confession that great cities have corrupted commercial sentiment, and injured the tone of public discussion. Under the voluntary system in the churches of the United States, Judas does not always go and hang himself, even when he carries the bag and has betrayed his Master for thirty pieces of silver. In cities, in fashionable congregations under the voluntary system, there is great difficulty in purging the American Church of commercial dishonor; and the difficulty may as well be recognized without evasion.

The angel in Bunyan's vision, who saw the miser using a muck-rake, did not look forward to the latest developments of luxurious Church-life. He might have seen that a muck-rake, used to draw in funds, is a very excellent piece of furniture — for what? For a church? Why, no! But for a Sunday club

it is a very indispensable piece of furniture! [Applause.] This extravagance of ours in Sunday-club palaces; this feeling of ours, that social prestige is more to be regarded in certain churches than right standing before Almighty God; this using our Sunday clubs as social preserves to keep families in good position, and to dissuade them sweetly from intermarrying wrongly and below their standard in society; this tendency of cities to give to the Church itself commercial measuring-tapes; this fact that a fifth of our population in the United States live in cities, and that the churches that set the fashions for the land are more often in cities than elsewhere, — all these are circumstances pointing to peril in time to come, and already big with disaster! I am not here to make excuses for church-members; nor am I here to make apologies for Christianity. But I make a distinction between Sunday clubs and churches, and between church-members and Christians.

What is the trouble with a few church-members who cheat? They are church-members, and not Christians. You must make a distinction between Christianity and the Church.

"King Olaf from the doorway spoke:
'Choose ye between two things, my folk, —
To be baptized, or given up to slaughter!'
And, seeing their leader stark and dead,
The people with a murmur said, —
'O King, baptize us with holy water!'
So all the Drontheim land became
A Christian land in name and fame."

LONGFELLOW: *The Saga of King Olaf.*

A barbaric clan in the ancient days would change sides in battle, suffer baptism in a river, and immediately enter on the new side into the clash of sword and spear. Were these people relieved of their barbaric tendencies by the swift ablution in the river before the battle? This is the way in which Christianity is distinguished from the Church. This is the way in which, when it is the fashion to belong to a church in our great cities, we now and then find fragmentary platoons of society brought into religious organizations, and baptized outwardly but not greatly changed spiritually. Thus it happens, that, with one in six of the population in churches in this country, there is a percentage of church-members who do not appear to have learned to their fingertips that portion of the Decalogue which says, "Thou shalt not steal." [Applause.]

The world, which applauds this sentiment, will not unite with the Church to keep such men from doing mischief as church-members, nor aid in the expulsion of such members from the church. This same world which applauds will not unite with the Church to keep such men from getting in. The world that sneers at the plant of the Church is the soil out of which the Church grows; and the sap in that plant is as good as the sap in the sods. [Applause.] The haughtiness of the world toward the Church is self-condemnation. If, on this Christian platform, I am to think aloud, I must say that I have little hope for either the world or the Church, unless the Church within the Church expels, or

keeps from ever getting in, men who have not learned the Decalogue. [Applause.]

All this, you say, is the mood of rash inexperience, which thinks every thing can be done easily in church-discipline. You think this speech proceeds from forgetfulness of the difficulty of obtaining evidence concerning frauds, defalcations, and dishonest dealings by church-members. I keep in mind all these circumstances, and know very well how a divided parish may come from any stern application of church discipline in a great city, and that there are many gentler measures than church discipline to be applied before that should be called into use. Incredible as the assertion may appear, however, it is true of cities, that they are to be first pure and then peaceable, and not first peaceable and then pure. Suppose that the gentler measures should be without effect, is there not power enough in the Christian pulpit and platform in cities to make the Church too hot a place for thieves?

Suppose that the sentiment of the parlor be made right in the first place. There are many princes of commerce who are also princes in the Church. If we follow the hints these men give us at times, and the guidance of their experience in the conduct of great affairs, we shall perhaps soon find that the Church can set fashions for the upper ranks among the leaders of business, that is, for the best men in it. In most of the great lines of industry, business is a regiment. *Men must keep step with each other; and, if the Church can set the fashion for the upper twenty in*

every hundred of business-men, these upper twenty will set the step of the regiment. If you think it a dismal enterprise to try to create a soul under the ribs of death in some hypocrite who ought to be in jail, why can you not attempt the setting of a fashion in the upper ranks of men of business? It is within the power of the Church so to foster good fashions in the upper quarter of the ranks of commerce and among the conservative classes, as to be the guardian of the commercial honor of the world.

What if you should teach the young that a man is no taller for standing on a bag of dollars, if the bag does not stand on the white marble pedestal of integrity, but lies in the gutter of unscrupulous sharpness, sinking in the ooze? What if you should strike with the whole force of church discussion at the roots of American reverence for successful sharpness, even if it be dishonest? What if you should try to undermine this absurd measuring of the worth of men by what they are worth? There are circles of society in which it appears incredible that Agassiz could have once said publicly at Cambridge, "I am offered five hundred dollars a night to lecture, but I decline all invitations, for I have no time to make money." [Applause.] It is before this kind of sentiment that America, as far as she is a church, ought to bow down; but it is before the antipodes of this sentiment that our young men are sometimes bowing down, even after they pretend to possess education.

Our cities are filled with a commercial sentiment which makes much of the candlestick, and little of

the candle. When the candlestick is the chief object of attention, it may swallow and extinguish the candle itself. There is no nation in history, that has thought more of the candlestick than of the candle, that can now be seen from afar. Agassiz told San Francisco once, that she might become as rich as Tyre and Sidon, but that unless she built up her churches and her schools and her literature she would be forgotten as soon.

Commerce is now international. A tempest of disaster in the trade of a single nation was once like a commotion in some land-locked lake. The storm in one lake did not extend to the others. The world was like a series of compartments in the side of an ocean-going steamer. Break in one compartment, you have not wrecked the vessel. But now commerce has taken down the partitions between these compartments. A storm on the commercial ocean rising on the Bosphorus may raise dangerous tides in New York, or rising in the United States may cover with its surges the coast of France and Belgium and England. The interdependence of nations is such that the failure of one great house brings danger upon a zone of different houses. *The Church has opportunity to clasp all the zones, through the interdependence of nations in commerce.* If she is true to her duty, and secures commercial honor, she may make the commercial unity of the world the means of bringing about its religious unity. Nothing will enable the Church to draw the whole world into her bosom so closely as changing the secular

pursuits of men into divine avocations. Let the secular arm of civilization encircle the world in one direction, and an opportunity will be open for the sacred arm, if the latter is only bold enough to assert its rights, to encircle the globe in the other. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Would that the Greek Æsop were here to present, before the bewildered public gaze, some incisively vivid object-lesson symbolizing the results likely to flow from socialistic political power in possession of vast governmental patronage! What would probably happen to the people, should socialists have their way in the nationalization of the land? In the experience of certain Mexican quarrymen at Acapulco, when they first used a cart to carry heavy burdens, there was a scene which perhaps would have amused Æsop. The vehicle was brought to the quarry, drawn by a mule as wise as any Æsop ever mentioned in his fables. The workmen, not knowing quite how to manage the business, expected to move easily whatever they should put between the wheels, no matter on which side of the axle the burden fell. So the mule, with musings much like those of socialism of our day, was, no doubt, thinking of the ease with which he could make the wheels roll under gigantic masses from the quarry. But the workmen piled in block after block on the wrong side of the axle, and at last the shafts were lifted aloft, and the mule hung there, his long ears whisk-

ing in the breeze from the Pacific, and his four extremities diligently pawing the empty air, but utterly unable to obtain a hold on the land. That had been nationalized!

When a long-eared people drawing the socialistic political vehicle called the nationalization of the land, come near the quarries of the future, and propose to draw the millennium out of the mountain-side, and block after block is piled in, the result is likely to give rise to reflections! Political money is the first block it is proposed to place between the wheels. Whenever in history the weight of that single stone from the quarry has been made to rest on this vehicle, the mule has become very light-footed. When balanced against that weight alone, he is elated and inflated. But socialism proposes to pile in not only political money, but political land, political railways, political canals, political factories, political mines, and so to increase indefinitely governmental patronage. Long before you have placed all these gigantic masses in this vehicle on the wrong side of the axle, your poor people who have expected to draw the socialistic conveyance will take precisely the posture of Æsop's mule, — their long ears will be whisking in a wind from both seas, and four hoofs will be powerless because landless. [Applause.]

Patronage, corruption, jobbery, — these are the weights which in a socialistic state will lift power away from the people, and give the government a tendency to tyranny such as the Commune exercised so mercilessly. The roughs in the municipal coun-

cil of Paris had their own way for a time; pretending to be the servants, they were the masters, of the people. The population they governed was lifted aloft as a mule between the shafts. One would think that a single historical example of erratics putting the weight upon the wrong side of the axle, and lifting a city into this attitude for the laughter of gods and men, would be enough to convince the world of the impolicy of socialistic political arrangements. It has been enough to convince France. It is because I believe that political money, political railways, political mines, and political land would create so vast a patronage as to make the government outweigh the people, and lift the latter into the air, that I am against piling those weights on the wrong side of the axle. I am for the cause of the poor; and precisely because I am for it, I am against socialistic arrangements, under which there would be need of a Cæsar as a remedy for anarchy.

The best proof that socialistic schemes are a political blunder is a clear description of them. In a list of propositions stated in serial order close enough to show their logical interdependence, let me give you another picture of Æsop's mule between the shafts.

1. There are proposed by socialists five methods of securing the nationalization of the land, railroads, canals, machinery, and other means of the production of wealth: —

(1) Confiscation by the state.

(2) The abolition of the right of inheritance, and

the reversion of private property to the state on the death of its present owners.

(3) Enforced sale with payment only for the improvements effected on the land by its present possessors, and with no payment for the land itself.

(4) Enforced sale at market-prices.

(5) Purchase by general consent.

These were the schemes of the International Society; and although I cannot father all of them upon any one socialistic newspaper in the United States, the spirit of them can be found in every socialistic newspaper I ever saw. "Pay for the land a fair market-price," I read over and over in some socialistic newspapers published in English; but when I take up the German and French sheets that come to us from Cincinnati and St. Louis, I find sterner propositions. Socialism is not agreed in this country how to obtain possession of the land. It wishes to nationalize the land by all or one or a few of these five measures. In a fair discussion of the whole field of the modern attack on property, we must mention not only the loud syllables but the secret whispers of men in socialistic clubs. When I was in Chicago and St. Louis during the riots of 1877, the citizens were told every morning by the daily press that socialistic clubs were buying arms, and drilling in secret apartments. On making an effort to ascertain the sentiment of these clubs, I found that usually their scheme was not only to out-vote, but to out-fight, their opponents. Shot-gun socialists are most of them Germans, Frenchmen, Poles, and Bohemians.

The demand for the confiscation of private property, so far as the abolition of the right of inheritance would accomplish such a result, is not unpopular even with Herbert Spencer. You remember that Spencer says "equity does not permit property in land." His reason is that "if *one* portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, and may be held by him for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then *other* portions of the earth may be so held; and eventually the *whole* of the earth's surface may be so held; and our planet may thus lapse altogether into private hands." (*Social Statics*, chap. ix., sect. 2.) "It may be true," says this philosopher, "that you are entitled to compensation for the improvements land has received at your hands; and at the same time it may be equally true that no act, form, proceeding, or ceremony can make land your private property." (*Ibid*, sect. 4.)

That is Herbert Spencer in 1850. Why did he not go on to reason as some socialists would? If the laws of marriage give a husband absolute protection in his rights as to his family, if one is to be united to one, and if there may be, as it were, absolute possession of wife by husband or of husband by wife, why may one not have absolute property in two, and three, and twenty, and the whole human race? There are socialists who have applied Spencer's doctrine in that way, and have not distorted it. Of course I do not accuse Spencer of such dreams, but I think the first of these pieces of reasoning is as

much a dream as the second. The methods of land-tenure are decided by convenience and custom, and the consent of nations, and large general justice. Spencer says the land was originally captured from nature by barons and rough marauders, and that they had no right to it without obtaining the consent of society. As to the land, an individual, he thinks, can have only the right of a tenant renting from society; and by society, if you will follow Spencer's discussion, you will find that he means the entire population of the world. In holding certain acres as her own, how is New England to know whether she has the consent of Timbuctoo? These savages in the islands yonder have a certain right to our soil; they are a part of society. Spencer says there are only a few men who do care for a clean-cut universal principle, and he prides himself on being one of the few. He has a right to that distinction.

2. In 1870 there were in the United States 2,659,985 farms, averaging 153 acres each. These were in the possession of nearly three million land-owners.

3. It is evident that the nationalization of all means of production in the United States, if attempted by force, would lead to one of the most fierce of civil wars.

4. If nationalization of the land were attempted by denial of the right of inheritance, this would be equivalent to confiscation, the exact pecuniary amount of which can be estimated by the difference in value between a life-interest in any particular estate, and its fee simple.

5. If the socialistic revolution were attempted by the third of the five methods, the amount of property confiscated would be measured by the difference in value of the rights of a possessor of the soil, and those of a mere tenant.

6. Land held by corporations, including those of schools, colleges, and philanthropic institutions, would be confiscated by the socialistic scheme of the denial of the right of inheritance.

7. It is evident that the revolution attempted by socialists, if conducted on the second or third of the methods it proposes to use, would lead to war.

8. Until socialists can not only out-vote, but also out-fight, the opponents of spoliation by confiscation of property, their first three measures cannot succeed, and perhaps no serious attempt will be made to carry them out.

There was a time when, if the International Society had obtained power in Europe, it would have attempted the nationalization of the land by confiscation, or at least by the denial of the right of inheritance. In the United States, with no large standing army, and under universal suffrage, a poorly educated majority, not understanding how the rights of the poor would be swallowed in the whirlpool of fire if socialistic revolution were fanned into a flame, might attempt the nationalization of all the means of production, and adopt measures which would lead to civil war. Think of what demagogues might do to fan passion; and how great cities, with a population of tramps in some of their slums, might turn themselves into an army.

If an hereditary ignorant and indigent and unemployed class is allowed to be brought into existence in the United States, the time may come when demagogues will be so influenced by the opportunities that universal suffrage will give for the elevation of socialistic opinions to power, that it will not do for capital to rely on Gatling guns. The chief defence for property in the United States is not to be found in artillery so much as in the churches and the schools. [Applause.] If America is leaning her arm on her cannon; if she is thinking, while resting her elbow on her columbiads and Gatling guns, that she can neglect the school, and can pare down the salary of the teacher, and leave the slums to fester, and crowd tenement-houses with men and women as sardine-boxes are packed with fish, and allow the just demands of labor to go unanswered, and yet ultimately have sufficient protection from her military power, — the time will come when America will be roughly awakened from this dream. I do not say the Gatling guns will easily be turned against honest property, but they were used against it in Paris. We saw that municipality brought under such control of the mob, that weeks of the sternest military contest the world has ever witnessed were needed to effect the reduction of one city. But by and by we are to have a half-dozen cities as large as Paris. You say that this is not a topic for to-day or to-morrow, but for day after to-morrow; and that we shall not have these cities soon. But they are coming; and to-day is the time

to discuss the question whether some Thiers or McMahon will be needed before every great city at our second centennial to keep order when demagogues fan the Gehenna-flames of socialistic revolution. Schools and churches, and not Gatling guns, are to be the delivery of America from socialistic abuse of universal suffrage. [Applause.]

Nevertheless I do not underrate the military power of a nation that has crushed one rebellion, and will be well educated enough to make short work of another, if a second is attempted. Outfight the farmers of the land! As Professor Hitchcock has said, "Other shots may yet be heard round the world besides those fired by Massachusetts farmers at Concord Bridge. I will risk our farmers. No French engineering could barricade a prairie; no German bullets shoot off the nation's head." (*Socialism*, p. 42.) There has never yet been seen in American history a day so red with blood as will be that day when socialism attempts spoliation here by force of arms.

9. It is evident that the diffusion of property among the voting class is the most effective remedy against schemes of spoliation and confiscation; but this diffusion is already greater in the United States than in any other nation of equal size and wealth.

10. If the nationalization of the land and other means of the production of wealth were to be effected by purchase at the market-price by general consent, it would cost more than the national revenue. At least an equal amount would need to be paid for rail-

ways, mines, buildings, machinery, and other appliances, as for the land.

11. The money thus required would need to be raised by a state loan.

12. It has been shown mathematically that the interest at four and a half per cent on the sum thus required would in Great Britain exceed nearly three times the present national revenue of the United Kingdom (see FAWCETT, *Political Economy*, pp. 280, 300); and a similar proposition may be shown to be true of the United States.

Is it too much for sober discussion to hope to arrest the attention of the dreamers who believe that they can pay the market-value of the land of the United States, and so nationalize it? As Webster said concerning the nullification-laws, if the thing can be done, honest men can tell how it can be done. The most overwhelming reply Webster made to Hayne was a straightforward statement of the way in which nullification would have to be carried out: —

"All the while
Sonorous metal breathing martial sounds."

In the United States and Territories there are three million six hundred thousand square miles, or more than twenty-three hundred millions of acres of land. Keep in mind at what prices building-land is sold in our numerous cities, and the worth of our vast regions of the fattest agricultural land the world contains. Nobody thinks the market-value of the lands of the United States is less, on the average

than a dollar an acre. *How do you propose to raise twenty-three hundred millions of dollars to purchase it?* This sum is so large that the interest on it, at the lowest rates at which money is borrowed, would be greater than the present national revenue.

Nobody thinks that the lands of the United States are not worth twice those of Great Britain. Competent authorities say that the value of all the land and houses in our mother island, exclusive of mines and railways, cannot be less than forty-five hundred millions of pounds. The annual interest on that sum, at four and a half per cent, would be more than two hundred millions of pounds, or nearly three times the British national revenue. (See FAWCETT, *Political Economy*, p. 283.) How do socialists in Great Britain propose to obtain this sum? How do socialists in America propose to raise a sum twice as large?

13. Even if, after the revolution, the rent of land and machinery were maintained at its present high level, there would be an annual deficit of colossal size in the income of the socialistic state as compared with that of its predecessor.

14. But one object of the proposed revolution is to reduce rents, and make land cheap, so that the impoverishment of the state would assume yet more enormous proportions after the naturalization of the instruments of production had been once effected.

15. The socialists propose to raise funds by a graduated tax on property, and at the same time to make the state the possessor of all the real property in the country.

Professor Fawcett well says that this is making a man rich by taking money out of one pocket, and putting it in another. It is like an attempt to lift yourself over a wall by standing in a basket, and pulling at its ears.

16. Under the graded income-tax proposed by socialists, large fortunes would be financially undesirable, and so the state would be yet further impoverished.

17. The increase of population would necessitate a new subdivision of the land; for at the end of fifty years after the first division the population would be doubled.

18. Some portion of the land or machinery rented at first would be taken away from those who had used them, and provision would thus be made for the increased population.

19. Under the proposed income-tax, the improvident would thus be provided for at the expense of the provident; a fine would be placed on prudence; and one of the most effective checks to the undue increase of the population would be removed.

20. Encouragement would be given to reckless increase of population, and to every species of improvidence.

John Stuart Mill is right, when he says society might perhaps be justly called on to provide for all who are now on the globe, but not for all that they may choose to bring into the world. The encouragements that would be given to recklessness and every kind of imprudence by socialistic arrangements, are

topics which socialists very rarely discuss. Socialistic schemes wreck themselves on the increase of population. That is a subject very infrequently taken up by socialistic writers; but it is the colossal rock on which their ship splinters itself.

21. The abolition of private ownership would destroy the magic of property in producing industry, and so yet further impoverish the state.

Michelet tells us of a French peasant of a Sunday walking out in his clean linen and unsoiled blouse. His wife is at church, and this simple farmer paces across his acres, and looks fondly at his land. You see him in solitude; but his face is illumined when he thinks his farm is his own from the surface of the globe to its centre, and that the climate is his own from the surface of the earth up to the seventh heaven. You find that man, says Michelet, if a stranger approaches him, withdrawing, that he may enjoy his affection in solitude: and, as he turns away from his Sunday walk through his own pastures, you notice that he looks back over his shoulder with affection, and parts with regret. He is not at work; he is not out to keep off interlopers: he is out simply to enjoy the feeling of ownership, and to look upon himself as one member of responsible society. (*Le Peuple*, 1re partie, chap. i.) "The magic of property," says Arthur Young, "turns sand into gold," and this phrase has become a standard one in political economy. The magic of property, which has done more in this country to produce a spirit of self-help than state aid for the whole planet ever could

do to produce a similar spirit, is the very heart of republican institutions, and that heart would be split open by the socialistic dagger, and its blood let out.

22. The distribution of the purchased lands among the people would either be at an uniform price, and thus involve further bankruptcy, or it would be by renting lands according to their worth as determined by what is offered to pay for their rent, and thus competition would not be got rid of by the nationalization of the instruments of production.

23. The socialistic state would have political money, political land, political industrial machinery, and the management of all these would be subject to the fluctuation of politics.

24. The fluctuations in a political currency alone would be enough to destroy confidence in business enterprise, but political land added to political money would ruin the state.

25. Governments acquire power through patronage; but the state which places at the disposal of its government its money, land, and all the means of production, opens the way for endless pecuniary and political corruption. Such a government would have more opportunities of rewarding friends and punishing opponents than were ever possessed by kings or aristocracies, and thus its temptations would be greater than any government known to history has ever withstood.

26. The whole socialistic nation would be exposed to demoralization from the tendency of the immense

governmental patronage to produce jobbery, intrigue, and favoritism.

Then would come what? Why, when once Æsop's long-eared animal is in the air, some driver seizes the reins, adjusts the heavy weights to the right side of the axle, and thereafter holds at his mercy the vehicle and the brute that draws it. Cæsar was Rome's escape from Communism (see Professor HITCHCOCK'S "*Socialism*," p. 43); and, the day that a socialistic revolution shall succeed in the United States, you will find on our map a Rubicon, and a man on horseback ready to cross it. [Applause.]

III.

SELF-HELP, NOT STATE-HELP, THE HOPE OF THE POOR.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THIRD LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, JAN. 27.

O dii immortales! non intelligunt homines quam magnum vectigal sit parsimonia! — CICERO.

Get work. Be sure it is better than what you work to get. — MRS. BROWNING.

III.

SELF-HELP, NOT STATE-HELP, THE HOPE OF THE POOR.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

EVERY gap in native endowments is an inlet to eccentricity in a man's tastes; and every gap in his culture an inlet of unsound conviction. Why should we train men in the outlines of political economy, and not in those of metaphysics and ethics? Why should we teach men so sedulously the outlines of chemistry and botany, and say nothing to them on the fundamental problems of conscience? The Christian evidences are taught in most of our institutions, but in a vague, hurried way, and the tendency is to push out the two or three standard volumes yet used in colleges on these topics into professional schools. What is the result? A college education ceases to be a liberal education. The man who enters the law is too busy to take up the study of the most important shelf of his library; the man who enters the medical profession is usually too busy; and he who enters politics may soon cease

to care for that shelf at all. His culture is no more complete than the human form is without shoulders and head. There is a hierarchy of sciences, leading up naturally to the highest themes of philosophy and ethics; and it is not too much to affirm that the colleges which are careless to the degree of cutting-off of these upper three shelves, are headless trunks. They are torsos that never will have life to carry civilization through the future with safety. [Applause.]

Scipio once had a dream concerning the structure of the external universe and its harmonies. After reading Cicero's report of that vision, it was my fortune, on a certain midnight, as a day of prayer for colleges drew nigh, to pass through the gate of dreams, and to have a vision of the inner universe and its harmonies, that is, of the laws of culture, the necessary conditions of its completeness, and the mischief of its fragmentariness. In my half-waking sleep I thought I was in my study on Beacon Hill, looking out on land and sea, and that the resolution seized me, to try the effect of placing my volumes on as many different shelves as there ought to be different stages in a course of liberal education.

So I began with mathematics on the floor, and placed there the Greek Euclid to lead the list of my favorite books on geometry and algebra, and trigonometry and surveying, the differential and integral calculus, quaternions and analytical mechanics. The self-evident truths contained in the axioms of Euclid, I affectionately remembered as the first rock of adamant on which I had placed my foot in my search

after certainty. All the way up through the superstructure of culture, my shelves of books were likely, as I saw, to depend on these axioms; and so I placed them at the base of the collection, as foundation-stories of the temple I was to build. The next shelf, naturally enough, contained works on logic; and here stood volumes by Aristotle, and Sir William Hamilton, and Whately, and John Stuart Mill. Logic is a luminous and exact science depending on Euclid's axioms. On a shelf for rhetoric, stood the treatises of Aristotle and Quintilian and Cicero and Fénelon and Whately and Blair, besides the orations of Demosthenes, Chatham, Burke, Webster, and Phillips, with Macaulay and Carlyle and Bossuet and Massillon and South and Jeremy Taylor.

Next came a shelf devoted to the languages; and although the list of books began on the left with grammars and lexicons of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Sanscrit, French, and German, it contained on the right the great classics in each of these tongues. Here were Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; here were Corneille, Molière, and Racine; here were Goethe, Schiller, and Richter; here were also Isaiah and the Prophets and the Psalms.

Political economy occupied the fifth shelf; and here stood Adam Smith and Ricardo, Malthus and John Stuart Mill, Cairnes and Fawcett and Price and Rogers, together with De Tocqueville and Roscher and Schäfle, and the Americans Carey and Bowen and Walker. Great speeches were here, too, from Cobden and Bright and Gladstone, with works

on statistics and politics, and the most modern philanthropies and industries.

History stood on the next shelf; and here were Homer and Thucydides, Gibbon and Grote and Hallam, Macaulay and Prescott and Motley and Bancroft; and in the rear of these volumes lay a mass of the original historical documents from which the books are drawn.

Physics came next, with works on astronomy, optics, acoustics, electricity, magnetism, and the spectroscope. Chemistry occupied the next shelf, with volumes on crystallography and mineralogy, and a score of industrial arts, together with discussions concerning that famous firm of Carbon, Oxygen, & Co., which was supposed to be able to produce life itself, but which Virchow says has become bankrupt of late. Natural history drew to its shelf the fascinating volumes on anatomy, physiology, botany, zoölogy, and geology.

The fine arts were represented on the next shelf, by Kugler and Lübke and Winckelmann and Ruskin and Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and by the best discussions of Greek, Roman, mediæval, and modern art.

Next came music, with the books on harmony and counterpoint, and the masterpieces of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Gymnastics occupied the next shelf, with works on the laws of health.

Metaphysics filled a shelf, with Aristotle and Leibnitz and Kant and Sir William Hamilton and Edwards and Lotze and Ulrici.

Ethics drew to its shelf Kant also, and Butler and

Price and Stewart and Dorner and Lotze and Hartmann.

Finally, at the summit of the temple stood the Christian evidences; and here were Butler and Paley and Whately and Rawlinson and Julius Müller and Dorner and Liddon and Fisher, besides the historians of the religious life in nations and in individuals.

Volumes belonging to distinctively professional studies were not placed in this symbolical collection. They stood on an opposite wall. When all the books representing a full college culture were arranged, I counted them from below upward on fifteen shelves, with these names: —

15. The Christian Evidences.
14. Ethics.
13. Metaphysics.
12. Gymnastics.
11. Music.
10. The Fine Arts.
9. Natural history.
8. Chemistry.
7. Physics.
6. History.
5. Political economy.
4. Languages.
3. Rhetoric.
2. Logic.
1. Mathematics.

These, in my dream, appeared to me to be the necessary parts of any education that deserves to be called liberal. The dreams of a young man about

fulness of culture are very different when he is in college, and when he has been ten years out of it face to face with the enemy. I now think that no temptation of mine in the university began to be as mischievous as an inclination to omit certain branches, to make electives of favorites, and so to leave colossal gaps in my culture. Looking back I see that even such unimportant work as I have been endeavoring to do cannot afford those gaps; and if in my little business this is the case, what must not be the necessity of a full culture in the great professions, and in literature, in science, and other regions where men must be equipped north, south, east, and west?

I tried in my dream, I remember, to leave certain of these shelves vacant, and the effect was startling. When I left out mathematics as the basis of this pile of shelves, the whole wall appeared to topple, and I saw on the floor, in my vision, certain imps of confusion dancing where the books on the exact sciences ought to have been. I tried to leave the shelf of logic empty, and the imps appeared upon it, and made it a dancing-board. Languages and rhetoric — these shelves go together. I found I could not empty the one without partially emptying the other. When I tried to leave the shelves empty, I found the imps appearing to make dancing-boards of the vacant spaces. But farther up the imps grew larger. I saw that these lower shelves, important as they are, when left vacant did not bring into vision quite as mischievous-looking fiends as some of the higher did

when they were empty. When I left out political economy, the shelf was swiftly made a dancing-board for the demons that support socialism, communism, and the whole swarm of political heresies.

You say that I have put into the list of necessary college studies some topics not usually insisted on, — for instance, the fine arts. Well, when I tried to leave that shelf vacant, Plato's ghost appeared above the library, and reproached me in the name of what he had taught us in his "Republic;" reproached me in the name of what Goethe used to say to us about his people being proficient in the art of ugliness; reproached me in the name of all travel which must know something of architecture and painting if it is to have open eyes; reproached me in the name of the needs of the common people. You say music ought not to be considered a necessary part of a liberal training; but Plato taught me better. I read in his "Republic," as he held it out to me in his ghostly hand, the old famous saying that the soul is musical in its structure, and that gymnastic as well as music should receive careful attention in childhood, and through life: —

"Musical training is a more potent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the secret places of the soul, on which they might fasten, imparting grace, and making the soul graceful of him who is rightly educated, or ungraceful of him who is ill-educated; and also because he who has received this true education of the inner being will most shrewdly perceive omissions or faults in art and nature, and with a true taste, while he praises and rejoices over and receives into his soul the good, and becomes noble

and good, he will justly blame and hate the bad, now in the days of his youth, even before he is able to know the reason why; and when Reason comes he will recognize and salute her as a friend with whom his education has made him long familiar." — PLATO, *Republic, Book II.*

Not to dwell on the effects that I saw in my dream resulting from leaving the lower shelves empty, let me describe at least a part of the vision occurring when philosophy and ethics were left vacant shelves. The imps here were more than imps: they were demons. Some of them hissed at all clear conviction of any kind. Others of them, not understanding what axiomatic truths are, assumed that there are none. I saw that on these vacant shelves those demons were dancing which foster the growth of false philosophical systems and erratic opinion in every form. A lack of knowledge of first principles — empty shelves in metaphysics and ethics — I found to be the real source of the agnosticism and scepticism and doctrinal indifference of many in our day, some of whom are in the front rank of literature and science.

"The Gods laugh in their sleeve,
To watch man doubt and fear,
Who knows not what to believe,
Since he sees nothing clear,
And dares stamp nothing false where he finds nothing sure."
MATTHEW ARNOLD: *Empedocles on Etna.*

These upper shelves left vacant, I found myself looking through the wall into a murky chaos. The topmost shelf of all vacant, I found the whole set of

shelves brooded over by smoke from the chaos, and that hardly any of the lower shelves were serviceable. Metaphysics, ethics, the Christian evidences, the top shelves — leave those vacant in our college courses, and the result will be that we shall have plenty of men well trained in all particulars except in regard to the highest themes, and as ignorant on those topics as the most of us are concerning recondite branches of chemistry and mathematics.

It is one of the subtle mischiefs of our modern college courses of study, that they crowd up those books which ought to stand on these upper three shelves, into the professional schools. Open the lists given us of prescribed elective studies in colleges; and although electives are very numerous in metaphysics, and somewhat abundant in ethics, you find that, in more than one respectable American college, a man may receive his degree without knowing any thing of importance as to these subjects. This is true not only of several State universities managed by politicians in the West. For one, I am forced, in the name of mere culture, to prefer those colleges which do insist on giving their students, in prescribed and not merely elective courses, something more than an outline of these higher branches, and do not allow the imps to make dancing-boards of these upper shelves in the list of fifteen. [Applause.]

My dream ended by my filling all the shelves; and when each of the supports for books on the fifteen themes was crowded, and when I had imagined — what I could only imagine — the better

part of this information and discipline to be transferred to my own soul, I saw that the chaos dissipated itself in the background. The imps disappeared one by one. In the clear azure where the chaos had ruled, there began to appear forms of light; and behind them an Infinite unnamable Figure watched over civilization, the axis of the globe standing with its soft spindle on one outstretched pointing finger, and both palms pierced. [Applause.]

There are thousands who cannot pass through our universities, but who would gladly have libraries containing shelves enough to represent a complete college training. You may not read twenty books on each shelf; but why can you not read fifteen books, one on each shelf? It was the glory of Boston to found, a few years ago, a reading-society for women, and it had at one time hundreds of members in different parts of the United States. There were lists of books recommended by a central committee, and abstracts of the volumes read were sent to the committee in Boston for examination. In that way inspiritment was given to home-training succeeding school-life. In a republic there are very few improvements more important than this pushing-out of culture into the home-life of the masses. It is no descent from the high theme of university training, to speak of reading-organizations among the people. Here is a letter from William Cullen Bryant, written just before he was caught up into the Unseen Holy, and indorsing a scheme for the promotion of study among the common people, and

for giving the college student's outlook to the average citizen: —

NEW YORK, May 18, 1878.

MY DEAR SIR, — I cannot be present at the meeting called to organize the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle; but I am glad that such a movement is on foot, and wish it the fullest success. There is an attempt to make science, or a knowledge of the laws of the material universe, an ally to the school which denies a separate spiritual existence and a future life, — in short, to borrow of science weapons to be used against Christianity. The friends of religion, therefore, confident that one truth never contradicts another, are doing wisely when they seek to accustom the people at large to think, and to weigh evidence, as well as to believe. By giving a portion of their time to a vigorous training of the intellect and a study of the best books, men gain the power to deal satisfactorily with questions with which the mind might otherwise become bewildered. It is true that there is no branch of human knowledge so important as that which teaches the duties we owe to God and to each other, and that there is no law of the universe, sublime and wonderful as it may be, so worthy of being fully known as the law of love, which makes him who obeys it a blessing to his species, and the universal observance of which would put an end to a large proportion of the evils which affect mankind. Yet is a knowledge of the results of science and such of its processes as lie most open to the popular mind important for the purpose of showing the different spheres occupied by science and religion, and preventing the inquirer from mistaking their divergence from each other for opposition.

I perceive this important advantage in the proposed organization: namely, that those who engage in it will mutually encourage each other. It will give the members a common pursuit, which always begets a feeling of brotherhood; they will have a common topic of conversation and discussion; and the consequence will be that many who, if they stood alone, might grow weary of the studies which are recommended to

them, will be incited to perseverance by the interest which they see others taking in them. It may happen in rare instances, that a person of eminent mental endowments, which otherwise might have remained uncultivated and unknown, will be stimulated in this manner to diligence, and put forth unexpected powers, and, passing rapidly beyond the rest, become greatly distinguished, and take a place among the luminaries of the age.

I shall be interested to watch, during the little space of life which may yet remain to me, the progress and results of the plan which has drawn from me this letter.

I am, sir,

Very truly yours,

W. C. BRYANT.

REV. JOHN H. VINCENT, Plainfield, N.J.

There is in Western New York a lake called Chautauqua, the highest water in the State; and thousands of people are accustomed to gather there in the summer, in exercises which Dr. John Lord, who lectured there last August, told me resemble the old Pythian and Isthmian games of Greece. Certain it is that fifty or sixty lectures are delivered each season there by men, some of whom are known to the nation; and written examinations are passed through by hundreds who come there and report their progress in reading during the year. This popular movement is both an achievement and a promise, and is worthy of imitation from sea to sea. I hold in my hand official information that a course of study embracing four years reading has been laid out, that text-books have been prepared, and that eight thousand persons have paid a tuition-fee in order to have the benefit of the guidance of this course of reading,

and of the suggestions that come from the learned men at the head of its different departments. Some of these teachers are professors in our colleges. The object of this effort, which Bryant commended with his last breath, is to give the serious citizen the college student's outlook. It requires an average of four to six hours devoted every week to remunerative reading. It embraces studies in Greek history and literature, Biblical history and literature, English history and literature, astronomy and physiology. It aims to bring the college-boy and his father, when the latter has not been through college, a little nearer to each other. The plain man often has great strength of mind, but lacks outlook. This movement takes him to the summit of a hill, and shows him a wide world of thought. It gives to the domestic woman something to think about when she works. It puts windows and skylights into dull houses. It incites old and young to new lines of reading. It tones up the home-circle, and will send more boys and girls to college. It will put more good books on the little shelves. It will put more good engravings on dull walls. It will convince plain people that the real Church is not afraid of science.

The education of women in separate institutions is making immense advances. College examinations for women are changing public sentiment as to the education proper for the sex. Let soft young men in colleges, if they are satisfied with a fragmentary culture, beware of non-academic competition. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Let us imagine ourselves on Selkirk's island, watching that hermit, while, with no tool but the tooth of a shark, he hollows a tree into a boat. In a remote part of the island, the man Friday, not yet discovered by Selkirk, lies asleep. Weeks pass. Selkirk is industrious, and at last he is in possession of a little vessel by which he can pass from island to island. He forms the acquaintance of the savage; and the latter claims that the boat is his, as much as Selkirk's. We will suppose the savage to have been instructed in modern socialism. He is asked to give a reason for the faith that is in him, and he quotes the famous phrase of Lasalle: "To every man according to his needs." "I desire to go to yonder island in that boat, and therefore have a right to it. The tree, before you cut it down, belonged to society at large. You have no right of the prescriptive sort to the timber from which the boat is made." To this Selkirk would say, if he had been instructed in Locke's writings, "Although the tree may have been yours as much as mine while it was standing, I have so changed its value that it is mine now, more than yours; for you have been asleep while I have been at work."

The savage would say, "Proudhon taught that all property is robbery." Selkirk would reply, if he wished to place the right of property on a foundation that will bear all attack, "I have a right to this boat, because I have a right to the fruits of my

own labor. I have a right to my cave here, and the slope of ground which I have cultivated before it, because I have mixed my labor with the rock and with the soil. It may be, the mountain-side was yours as much as mine, before I put my labor into it. The soil belonged to society at large; but, if I have a right to the fruits of my own labor, the additions I have made to the cave, the changes which are the result of the work I have put upon the land, are mine." Friday, if he were well instructed in socialism, would say that there can be no property in land, and that, the moment Selkirk is paid for the additional value the cave and land possess on account of the work expended on them, they may be taken away from him; whereupon a debate of considerable interest would arise between Selkirk and Friday! If, in the course of the contest, it should turn out that Selkirk is the stronger man; if, in the struggle for existence, Selkirk should be successful, this man Friday would have to go farther back than to Proudhon for instructions. He would have to go back to Selkirk's cradle. How is it that Selkirk came into the world with more power than Friday? The most interesting of all text-books that I know any thing about is the cradle into which the Supreme Powers drop men. The gods may be levellers; but they are levellers up, not levellers down. Undoubtedly they desire to lift Friday to the condition of Selkirk. If Friday is hired, he shall have fair wages; no injustice shall be done to him; he shall have instruction: and yet Selkirk has a better equip-

ment of powers, and has a right to use them. The truth is, the Supreme Powers bring men into the world with unequal endowments, and with unequal tendencies to make use of their gifts; and, so long as they continue to do this, the cradle and what the Supreme Powers put into it will be answer enough to socialism. [Applause.]

This simple example of Selkirk and Friday on their island, I wish to use to illustrate the maze of our modern discussions concerning labor and capital. The relations of these two men are not a maze. The case is all clear when only two factors come into the problem. But the laws of mathematics are the same in the simplest arithmetical problem and in those calculations of the eclipses that cover whole walls, and require, perhaps, the study of weeks for their comprehension by the ordinary mind. We may trace in Selkirk and Friday, in their cradle and on their island, the course of one portion of the curve that sweeps through all the mazes of the discussion concerning capital and labor, the right to property and the right of bequest. In every arc a circle has the same law; and, if we could follow it everywhere through the maze, it would be the same circle which we see in this one arc. If you will fasten your eyes on these object-lessons, I shall hope to carry your assent to several consecutive propositions, which affirm only what the object-lessons teach: —

1. The legitimacy of private property rests on the right inherent in every workman either to consume

or to save the product of his labor. Producers have a right to what they have themselves produced.

If we can agree on this proposition, that, when a man has earned something, he may either consume it or save it, we shall come very nearly to agreement as to the right of private property. I do not say that it is absolutely self-evident that a man who has earned something has a right either to consume it or to save it, but I say that it is absolutely self-evident that you have not a right to steal it. [Applause.] If a man who has earned something has not a right to dispose of what he has earned, who has? Social science is filled with truisms; but the self-evident propositions, the truisms themselves, which lie at the basis of political economy, need to be emphasized in debate with popular fallacies on that theme. It is said, for instance, that a man has a right to the cloth he produces as an operative. He would have, if he had produced it. The operative only gives form to costly materials which capital brought together. It is one of the common cries of socialists, that the operative classes should have the railways that they build, and the cloth they weave. We do not deny the principle that the laborer has a right to what he produces, when we assert that the product of our great industries must be divided between labor and capital. It is perfectly evident that the product is the result of a number of causes operating together, and that the laborer is far from being the sole cause of production. He does not produce the material; he does not bring the material to the place where its

form is changed; he would find, in most cases, the moment all other forces than his own were abstracted from the multiplex industry, that nothing would be produced by himself.

2. To prevent a man from exchanging a part of what he has produced, for its equivalent, would be an infringement of his right of property.

Suppose that I have earned something, and that it is not in quite the shape that I need for the support of life. Have I not the right to change it for something that will satisfy me better? If you say I have not, I affirm that you infringe my original inherent right to do what I will with my own, when I injure no one else.

3. The right of property, therefore, includes the right of exchange, bargain, and contract.

4. It is evident, also, that it includes the right of bequest, and that is the basis of the right of inheritance.

5. It includes also the provision that a title, after a certain period, should be given by prescription.

What if Selkirk here on his island had no right to a foothold when he first landed? He passes years in his solitude, and makes the garden resemble Eden, and it is finally ascertained that the island belonged to some barbaric chief. Selkirk took possession without purchase; but the chief, after ascertaining what Selkirk has done, leaves him in possession, and Selkirk goes on improving the island. Many years pass, and he obtains at last what our laws call a prescriptive right to the soil. *He has mingled so much*

of his labor with it, that more injustice would be done in turning him out than in allowing him to stay. Although defending several extreme views on this right of property, John Stuart Mill himself undertakes to maintain that the right of property includes the right of possession by prescription. Far away is the cool, clear Mill from the wildness of Herbert Spencer, who claims that a clean-cut universal principle must be run through all these cases of prescription, and the right to private property denied even when it has not been disturbed for centuries. (See MILL, *Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i., Book II., chap. 11, sect. 2. See also ROSCHER, *Political Economy*, vol. i., chap. v.)

6. Men are sent into the world with different endowments, and they make a very different use of their endowments.

7. So long as private property is allowed to exist, there will, therefore, be great inequalities in the distribution of wealth.

8. Inequalities in the distribution of property arise, under free governments, not from inequalities of social condition, but from inequalities of personal condition.

9. It follows, that until private property ceases to be a natural right, and until men are born with equal powers, there can be no escape from the action of the principle of competition, or that reward should be proportioned to exertion.

10. It is therefore evident that the legislation of the Supreme Powers themselves has established

the rule that a man's success shall depend on self-help.

Go into Washington Street or Broadway, scoop up a hundred men, bring them here, and you find great inequality in what you call their social condition. What do you mean by that? Why, some of them are paupers; one or two of them are millionnaires; out of a hundred there are not more than fifty who are not in anxiety as to the method of obtaining their daily bread. Of the families represented by the hundred men, perhaps four or five are starving. You affirm that these inequalities in the social condition of the hundred you have taken up at random to represent American civilization are an offence to Heaven, and ought to be an offence to human legislation. I will not deny that there is a sense in which both of your assertions are correct; but the question is, whether these are inequalities of social condition, or of personal condition. The hundred men are all living under American law. How did they start in life? Why, yonder millionnaire, it may be, started with twenty-five cents; this pauper started with as much. Every man of the hundred has very possibly had as good a chance under the law as the millionnaire had when he began. You say capital gives advantage to its possessor. Many a rich man has commenced his career with no capital but hands and brains, and has had no advantage from law that all may not have. It is possible, you say, that those two or three rich men have inherited property, and saved it; and I reply that it is equally

possible that some of these paupers inherited property, and have spent it! Let us be candid, and not charge the public law with faults which belong to personal character.

We have no law of primogeniture. We have no aristocracy. It is no part of my purpose to defend the arrangements which exist in England concerning land. I am not here to indorse any mediæval idea, but am discussing American institutions. Each of these hundred men has been protected in his right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The prejudice of class or caste darkened no cradle of the hundred. There was a free course for every one in youth. There was public education for every one of them. American civilization stood over the cradle of this pauper, rocked it, offered to his opening faculties Christian culture, gave him standing in the common school; if he could not pay for his education, paid it for him; warmed the room for him; and, it may be, bought him text-books. The guardian genius of our land did no more than this for the millionnaire who started poor, and has acquired wealth. Among the hundred there are great differences of natural power. One man was born to good health, another to poor health. One man was born with mental faculties like gigantic scythes, that can sweep down harvests in abundance, and gather them into his granaries; and another man was born with nothing but a sickle, or a dull pruning-knife, with which to forage for existence in this world. The Supreme Powers are responsible in part for the difference among men when

they are put into the cradles. The laws of hereditary descent are under the management of men, to a great degree; and we are responsible in part for the fact that men come into the world with nothing but sickles and pruning-hooks with which to forage for themselves. But there is an inequality in the cradle. There is a personal factor in this problem; and unless you go back, as Friday did, to the cradle, you have not begun to study your theme. But, even if the hundred men had been equally endowed in the cradle, would they have been likely to make the same use of their powers? How do men act? What do we find to be the fact of human history? Some men are industrious and economical, and some are not. And now I put it to socialists, I put it to the sacred, inmost conscience of every citizen here, whether the contrasts which exist among these one hundred men are not far more the result of inequalities of personal condition than of inequalities of social or political condition. [Applause.]

We are agreed, therefore, that we must take lessons from the cradle, and from those ancestral spaces out of which all men come, and into which all men haste. We want a political economy which can be indorsed by the Supreme Powers. I care nothing for the politicians and for the theorists, unless their schemes are in harmony with the majestic laws which are not to be repealed by any human vociferation. If we were to divide property equally among the hundred men, what would be the effect? Levelling will not last unless we level the Supreme Powers. I

take my hundred men from Broadway, my hundred from Boston, and filch from the pockets of the rich, and fill those of the poor. I equalize wealth in all pockets Monday morning, but where are the pockets Saturday night? [Applause.]

[A voice: "Nobody wants to do it."]

Socialism and communism have said over and over, at the mouth of Proudhon, at the lips of Lasalle, and by the pen of Karl Marx, that property in land is robbery. Marx elaborately defended the deeds of the Parisian Commune. Over and over the ringleaders among socialists have indicated their willingness, if they only had the power, to confiscate, in whole or in part, property in land and in all the means of production. [Applause.] I say to advanced socialists, come on with your schemes of confiscation and forced loans and graded income-taxes and irredeemable political currency, under universal suffrage, and, if you are sufficiently frank in proclaiming the doctrines of your ringleaders, then, under military necessity; and even here in the United States, if we must get rid of universal suffrage, we shall. [Applause.] Rather than allow socialistic confiscation of the value Selkirk has added to his cave, and to the plat of ground before it, we will have one of the fiercest of civil wars. [Applause.] Rather than give property Monday morning into the control of men who before Saturday night will have produced inequality again by their own spendthrift character, we will see to it that in this country sterner regulations are made than now exist to repress heresies and demagogues under universal suffrage. [Applause.]

11. The community of goods in one portion of the primitive Church was a community in use, and not in possession. It was not instituted as an example; it was not imitated outside of Jerusalem; it was voluntary, and existed only among believers.

There is a Biblical justice, a Biblical philanthropy, a Biblical unfathomable tenderness for the poor; but the same book teaches, that, if a man provides not for his own, he is worse than an infidel, and that he who will not work shall not eat.

One of the most mischievous of the forces at work in certain vague parts of the mind of the community is the thought, that, after all, there is a Biblical socialism, or a Biblical community of goods. Property in land, in the old Jewish days, had many limitations. There was an occasional releasing of debtors. A Jew would not take interest from a Jew. And was there not, many ask, a community of goods? and were not all things in common in the primitive Church at Jerusalem among those who believed? For one, I think that there is nothing quite so mischievous as to mistake a scoured pewter tankard for the sun in heaven. The scheme of thought by which Biblical authority is brought over to the side of socialism is a pewter tankard, but, when the eyes of certain erratics are fixed on it, they think they see the sun; and the latter becomes visible to them only when we smite an opening directly through the pewter into the noon. The community of goods at Jerusalem was not compulsory. It did not come about by the use of universal suffrage, nor by any sort of confiscation.

"While it remained, was it not thine own?" were the words addressed to Ananias; "and, after it was sold, was it not in thine own power?" (Acts v. 4.) The community was one of use, and not of ownership. It was a voluntary act of love, rather than a duty. Still less was it a right which the majority might assert against individuals. It was a community among men of similar belief, and not between those who were for a commonwealth organized as a theocracy, and those who were against it. It was a community among men who, in both fact and theory, were brethren. And then, as scholars have shown over and over, it was a community never imitated. Nowhere outside of Jerusalem do we find any such early Christian community of goods. Nowhere do we find it recommended by apostolic precept. (See MOSHEIM, *De Vera Natura Communionis Bonorum*, ii. 1.) Some scholars have gone so far as to say that the community of goods produced the chronic poverty which existed in the church at Jerusalem. (ROSCHER, *Political Economy*, vol. i., p. 246, *note*.) Contributions were taken up for the church and the poor at Jerusalem in all parts of the early Christian world. [Applause.]

12. Only by self-help can the mobility of labor be secured.

13. Only by self-help can the working-man withstand the competition of machinery.

14. Only by self-help can the working-man avail himself of the benefits of building-societies, trades-unions, and co-operation.

15. The best methods of poor-relief have been found by experience to be those calculated to produce a spirit of self-help.

16. The test of good legislation as to labor is its tendency to produce in the laborer a spirit of self-help.

17. Only by self-help is competition made perfect.

18. Only by self-help are the economical harmonies of supply and demand brought into action.

Keep in mind the distinction between perfect and imperfect competition. The Manchester school in political economy asserts that the laws of supply and demand are such perfect economical harmonies, that, if we let labor and capital alone, wages will rise as high as they can, and manufacturers not fall into bankruptcy; and profits as high as they can, and the working-men not be ground down into poverty and ignorance. The law of competition very rarely works freely in this world. If we could secure perfect competition, I should believe in the law of supply and demand as likely to settle all difficulties concerning capital and labor. But here is a difference of wages between the North and South of England. You say the law of supply and demand will right things. Yes; it would right things with a bale of goods. When a bale of cotton lies on the wharf at Liverpool, the difference of a penny in profits, as Adam Smith used to say, will carry it to the North of England or the South, to France or Germany, or perhaps around the world. But if, instead of a bale of cotton, there is a poor man's family on

the wharf, the difference of a penny in profits will not produce these marvels. The laborer, it may be, has not heard of the higher wages at a distance. What if he has heard, and has not money enough to get there? What if he has money enough, but cannot leave his family? What if he can leave his family, but is too old to learn a new trade? In seven cases out of ten, working-men must sell their labor promptly, or starve; but capital can wait. Competition is enormously imperfect in this case, and the law of supply and demand has no free course. Nevertheless, state interference at all these points would cripple the workman, and competition can be improved safely only by his self-help. We know how callow the pauper becomes. Every bone in the beneficiary is filled with extra joints. It is impossible to make the empty bag stand on its own bottom. You may pour in state-help ages and ages, without filling the socialistic bag; and, until self-help gives it a bottom, the filling will be useless. The rights of the laborer are safe only in his own hands and through self-help. On account of the imperfections in the working of competition, all working-men should beware of letting the spirit of self-help sleep. It is self-help that gives the working-class building-societies, and trades-unions, rightly managed, and co-operation and industrial partnerships. The political demagogues who would lead us away from these measures, to the support of schemes of state-help, are the enemies of social progress.

In the thousand exigencies of industry, the work-

ing-man has no adequate defence but intelligence, energy, and honesty used in self-help. New machinery revolutionizes some trade, and you have no work for a time; thousands are turned out of employment, and what are you to do? If a working-man in the fluctuating industries is to be sure of a home, he needs to know more than one trade, or at least a portion of his family must know more than one. No political power is able to resist the progress of new inventions, and labor must be made mobile and capable of changing its position from occupation to occupation. The trouble with manual labor is, that there is more of it in the world than is wanted, and, if it cannot change itself into skilled labor, manual labor must sometimes see distress. Let us have interference by government for those who cannot help themselves, that is, for the children, for the women in the mine, for the girl in the shop; but for men, who, under republican governments, are to be called on to manage themselves politically, I want such industrial fashions that in industry all male adults shall be called on to depend on precisely what they depend on in politics; namely, self-help. Until that spirit is exhibited by our working-men, we shall never see what co-operation and industrial partnerships, and the self-inspired mobility of labor, can do.

Two summits are in view above the height to which our discussion has led us; and I here and now can only point to them, and ask you to ascend them, and look abroad from them, and pace to and fro on them, each one of you silently and alone.

19. The Church, in all its branches, while inculcating philanthropy, insists everywhere on self-help; and in doing this she proves herself to be the chief friend of the poor.

20. Socialism, by destroying the right of personal ownership in the means of production, and by fostering dependence on state-help, undermines the spirit of self-help, and so is a fatal enemy of the cause of the poor. [Applause.]

IV.

CO-OPERATION THE HELP OF THE POOR.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FOURTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 3.

Co-operation is nothing more nor less than getting rid of the middleman. The same men cannot conduct the same business as well for others as for themselves. The knowledge that he will gain what is gained, and that he will lose what is lost, is essential to the temper of the man of business. — PROFESSOR WALKER: *The Wages Question.*

When all shoot at one mark, then gods join in the combat. — EMERSON.

IV.

CO-OPERATION THE HELP OF THE POOR.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

San Francisco, a brave city, hardly dares utter her mind on the Chinese question, when her sand-lot orators threaten conflagration, riot, and murder. Loafers and roughs, led by a gang of shallow and foul-mouthed cheap-jacks, mostly of foreign birth, fill the ears of Californians daily with threats of fire, blood, and devastation. I am a friend of the working-man, but not of rioters, tramps, thieves, sneaks, and thugs. Anti-Chinese clubs crack the defiant whip of lawlessness over the heads of California's mayors, governors, and senators. This bluster may succeed for a day and an hour in a city famed once for its deadly vigilance-committee, but it will not triumph in the long course of events. It may succeed with one State, under a corrupt legislature; but it will not intimidate the nation. San Francisco is afraid of her sand-lots. Massachusetts is not. [Applause.] She has seen their chief orator. The

leader of sand-lot oratory, by his odious advocacy in 1878, sunk an astute popular leader beneath the sea of Massachusetts politics. No political party can swim in Eastern waters with Kearneyism hung around its neck. The champions in Congress of an unconstitutional bill against Chinese immigration should remember that their action may some day fasten to their necks a millstone, and that they may wish, as the Massachusetts politician did on the day of his defeat, that his principal supporter were not only on the sand-lots, but under them.

The three despised races on this continent are the negroes, the Indians, and the Chinese. That part of the nation which did justice to the first of these races will ultimately do justice to the others. The crack of the hoodlum's lash in national politics is too much like that of the slave-driver's whip to be popular, and it is near enough like it to be its echo. I doubt whether the crack of the whip of the hoodlum is much more agreeable to the Supreme Powers above us than the sound of the slave-driver's lash was. A craven and apologetic attitude before the latter has not been justified by history, and as little will a similar crouching attitude before the former be an object of admiration to posterity. The sound of the slave-driver's whip has passed out of hearing, and so will that of the hoodlum's sibilant thongs. The chief danger from each is in the tendency of cowardice and ease under threats to depart from straightforward justice, and fall into fright and compromise.

Only three men of national reputation for statesmanship have thus far expressed an opinion on the Chinese question. When Secretary Seward was in California, on his trip around the world, he was asked to visit the Chinese quarter, in order to convince himself that Mongolian immigration was fast poisoning California. He was invited by the Chinese themselves to visit the same quarter, in order to see how industrious and harmless and profitable that colonization is in this country. He refused to accept either invitation, but took pains to put on record his firm protest against the exclusive policy so loudly insisted on by small partisans, and his conviction that immigration and expansion are the main and inseparable elements of civilization on the American continent, and nowhere more so than on the Pacific coast. Any attempt to stifle or suppress these invigorating forces, he thought, must certainly fail. We need good police-regulations, no doubt, for Chinamen and hoodlums. We need better enforcement of existing laws; but Seward was of opinion that there is no change needed in the Constitution of the United States on account of the desire of the sand-lot working-men for a monopoly of cheap labor in California. Senator Morton, the chairman, and the only strong man, of the Congressional committee sent to California in 1876 to investigate the Chinese question, is the second statesman who has taken this position. The greatest orator of New England, with all the emphasis of his glorious life-long career, has put himself on the side of the oppressed in California.

He regards the anti-Chinese crusade as one of the most heartless and contemptible attacks that one class of low-paid laborers has ever made on another. Only O'Connell himself, he thinks, could properly ridicule the Irish and the German immigrant, the Dutch, the Bohemian, Pole, Swede, who, not yet naturalized in this country, or whose fathers were unknown here, are attacking other immigrants as not Americans! Mr. Phillips is not usually charged with lack of sympathy for working-men, but he has had the courage to disagree utterly with sand-lot oratory.

What is the trouble with the majority of the lower house at Washington? Everybody understands, or ought to, that the Congressional and Presidential votes of California are prizes held up and shaken in the face of politicians. These glittering baubles have so confused the mind of the majority of the lower house, that by a vote of a hundred and fifty-five to seventy-two they have denied the right of any American shipmaster to bring to this country more than fifteen Chinamen at a time. If there should ever be an avalanche from China, or from any other country, perhaps we might moderate it somewhat by law; but there is no call yet for effort in that direction — except from politicians in search of capital! The majority in the lower house at Washington, acting under the party whip, is ready to violate treaty-stipulations with a friendly power. The House of Representatives holds up the Burlingame treaty as a paper Chinese lantern, and, at the prompting of hoodlums, delivers a blow through it into the face of China.

This action is not fit for Congress. If approved by the Senate and the Executive, it would bring reprisals in China. American trade can be shut out of Chinese ports. Great Britain is the owner of the port of Hong Kong; and we are likely to be brought into collision with the British power, if we put too many restrictions upon the action of shipmasters in British waters. We have no more right to restrict the action of a shipmaster in Hong Kong than in Liverpool harbor. It is a place covered by a British treaty with the United States. Then, again, how silly is the idea, several times proclaimed in a late Congressional debate, that it takes only one nation to make a treaty! One nation can make a law, but it takes two nations to make a treaty; and a treaty, as we have been taught, is a part of the supreme law of the land.

It is proposed that the sixteenth Chinese immigrant who offers himself for a voyage to the United States on any American vessel shall be refused passage. When the Chinese embassy came across the Pacific, it had more than fifty in its train, and, according to the proposed legislation, could not have been brought on one ship. If ever the Chinese Emperor should send another embassy, we should be obliged, under this new regulation, to bring them on several vessels. There is ludicrous inappositeness in such hasty action on the part of the lower house, when the upper house and lower, together with the President, are in correspondence with China on the topic of this treaty. There is a Chinese embassy, too,

in Washington; but, under the spur of a desire to catch Congressional and Presidential votes from the Pacific coast, the anti-Chinese party has committed itself to the Chinese policy of building a Chinese wall.

The lesser Eastern question has become the greater. What is the lesser Eastern question? The fate of Turkey on the Bosphorus. What is the greater? The regeneration of Asia. The Chinese question in California is an outlying portion of the greater Eastern problem. As such, I, for one, always look upon this burning American theme, and find in it only the portico to the immense international topic, a greater Eastern problem of colossal proportions, the regeneration of Asia.

California a door to China! The meeting of the vanguard of civilization, in its march toward the West, with the old conditions of men yet existing in the rearguard in the East! The front rank of the army likely to suffer somewhat, indeed, but the rear ranks urging on the front! California so placed that she cannot evade commercial intimacy with China! California called on to take into her hands the carrying-trade of the Pacific! California compelled to educate Chinamen, that they may educate their own land! California called on to do justice in America, in order that ultimately we may have a moral foothold to procure regeneration for Asia as a whole! That is the Chinese question, as our Sumner saw it when the Chinese embassy came here. You put the representatives of China into Faneuil Hall. You gave them a banquet with your most honored public

men. You put at the side of the Chinese ministers Mr. Emerson, Mr. Sumner, and Mr. Burlingame. Of the latter you were then proud, but his measures are now being attacked in Congress by fifth and tenth rate politicians as unwise. He had opened the commercial gates of China, and you had enthusiasm in Boston as to the possibilities of the future. Rufus Choate was once greatly praised for saying, "The gates of the Rocky Mountains are opening, on golden hinges turning." When the Chinese embassy came here, and you put your Sumner and your Emerson at their side to point out the signs of the times, you thought that the great gates of the Pacific were opening, on golden hinges turning, and that the day might come which Carlyle has predicted, when the Pacific will be to the modern world only what the Mediterranean was to the Roman Empire.

If there were political unities amongst the nations surrounding the Mediterranean in the old Roman Empire, why may there not be commercial unities among the nations surrounding the smaller Mediterranean which we call the Pacific? The regeneration of Asia has as much practical value to us in religious and commercial and political affairs as the regeneration of any outlying province of old Rome had to the Empire in Cæsar's day. We are as near China as Cæsar at Rome was to the Straits of Gibraltar. We are as near Japan as Cæsar was to the Cataracts of the Nile. Indeed, if you measure space by the time needed to traverse it, the whole world's circuit now is not greater than that of the Mediterranean

was in his day. Our missionaries on a thousand hillsides in the desolate quarters of Chinese paganism regard it as settled that there are no foreign lands. Our ocean transit, our railway transit, are becoming so perfect that the world no longer is a system of land-locked lakes: it is one ocean. The voice of Almighty Providence calling for the regeneration of China contrasts itself, as the greatest modern political and religious theme, with the small piping cry of a narrow-minded anti-Chinese crusade on the Pacific coast. To which will you listen, — to the crack of the hoodlum's whip, or to the voice of Providence requiring America to do justice, and to occupy her opportunities? Let us remember what God has said in our history concerning despised races. Let us take instruction from the penalties we have suffered for injustice to them in the past, and do our duty with alacrity to a race, not with four millions in it, but with four hundred millions.

You say that when I take this point of view I suggest precisely the reason why we should be cautious about an immense Chinese immigration. Four hundred millions of people in the Chinese Empire! Can they not easily spare fifty millions, or as many as we now have in the United States? Is it not a question whether the United States will become New China? I face that inquiry; but, if you please, we must beware of statistics, when none have been taken in the Chinese Empire for a hundred years. Rather more than a century ago, statistics were collected showing that China had two hundred millions of

people. Standard writers on statistics assure us that there are now between four and five hundred millions of human beings in China, but our best information is that this is a great over-estimate. It is thought by many of the shrewdest judges that the population of the Celestial Empire has decreased in the last hundred years. Many affirm that probably there are not two hundred millions of people in China to-day. There has been no census taken in the Celestial Empire for the last hundred years, simply because it was supposed a deficit in the population would be revealed. Among experts in statistics, confidence is shaken in the statement that there are now between four hundred and five hundred millions in China.

The danger of an avalanche of Chinese emigrants is vastly exaggerated. What has happened? We have had twenty years of Chinese immigration, and there are only about two hundred thousand Chinese now in the country. There has been no barrier to immigration; there has been a great field for cheap labor in Pacific railway construction. We have received in twenty years fewer Asiatic emigrants than we often have of European emigrants in a single year. If, in the last twenty years, under all the stimulation of immigration, we have brought over but this small number, how are we sure that, in the time just ahead of us, American institutions are to be buried under an immense avalanche of Asiatic immigrants? The bugbear of an enormous avalanche from China is absurdly emphasized. It is a hoodlum bogey. It ought not to frighten us, even if it be magnified by

political necromancers. Our population is doubling every thirty years. We are soon to have a hundred million people here, born on our soil. The man who remembers that we have two hundred thousand from Europe every year landing on this Atlantic coast, and is frightened by the arrival of the same number from the Asiatic coast on the Pacific side during fifteen or twenty years, is not estimating at its proper value the recuperative vigor of the American nation. We have succeeded on the Atlantic sea-board, we have not wholly failed even in New York City, in holding our heads above water while the Irish deluge and the German have come in. We have the fifth German city in the world at the mouth of the Hudson; we have the second Irish city in the world there: and yet we are not altogether ashamed of New York. More than half the imports of the United States yet pass through her harbor, and she is yet an American city. We shall be proud of San Francisco if she manages an immigration half as large, as well as New York has done her Irish and German and Italian and Polish and Bohemian influx.

The Chinese immigration thus far has done more, and far more, for this country, financially, than the Irish did when the Irish was no larger. [Applause.] We have official statistics showing that 60,000 Chinese now in California contribute to the annual revenue of the State over $15,000,000. Did any 60,000 Irishmen among the first who came over ever do as much as that for the nation or themselves? [Applause.] Let us have the truth on this topic, no matter whose

prejudices are offended. We have official information that the amount of duties paid by the Chinese importers into the custom-house of the port of San Francisco is $1,800,000; freight and passage money in ships from China, $650,000; rent for stores and storage, $1,000,000; for State licenses and taxes, $2,250,000; for American products in San Francisco, $1,100,000; for water-rates for Chinese miners, $2,200,000; for mining-claims bought by Chinese miners, $1,350,000; for American products in the State, $5,000,000. (Among the official documents which must be compared on the Chinese question, are Senator Morton's minority report, and that of the majority in the committee of investigation in California in 1876, the California State publications, and the memorials sent to Congress by the six Chinese companies. See also the Rev. Otis Gibson's valuable volume on "The Chinese in America.")

The surveyor-general of California says the Chinese have increased the value of the property in California $290,000,000, and this property to-day is held by white men. Have any 100,000 Irish done as much as that for California? [Applause.] Where is the sand-lot orator who dare say that his race on the Pacific coast has added $290,000,000 in value within ten years to the property in California held by white men? [Applause.] These Chinamen, according to official statements, have reclaimed many thousands of acres of marsh-lands which now are worth a hundred dollars an acre. I undertake to say that there has not been on the face of the globe,

since the first immigration of the English into this country, as profitable an influx of working-men as these official figures show. [Applause.]

The Pacific coast needs manufactures. Labor is so costly in California, that manufacturers there cannot compete with the East. The influx of Chinese labor will make it possible to apply capital advantageously to the diversification of industry in California.

The Chinaman's standard of living will grow higher. His competition with the American laborer will thus become less dangerous, and excite less class rancor.

I have an aspiration concerning the Pacific coast as well as for the Atlantic, and John Bright expressed it. "There is another and far brighter vision before me," this friend of the working poor and of free institutions said in a speech at Birmingham, Dec. 18, 1862, in the darkest days of our civil war, when aristocrats hoped for the division of the American Union. "I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in unbroken line to the torrid South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main; and I see one people, one language, and one law and one faith, and over that wide continent the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and clime." [Applause.]

Capital at large, as represented by the great managers of manufactories, and ranches and extensive farms in California, is in favor of Chinese immigration, under good police-regulations in San Francisco,

and a fair construction of the Burlingame treaty. On the whole, the substantial part of the population of California speaks of Chinese immigration favorably. A gentleman who has spent months in San Francisco told me he had talked with at least a hundred owners of property, and leaders of public sentiment, preachers, professors, teachers, merchants; and that he had not in his long residence in San Francisco found one employer of labor opposed to Chinese immigration. [Applause.] It is very well understood, not only that there are two sentiments on this topic in California, but that the reason why the more conservative sentiment does not make itself heard is, because sand-lot oratory threatens riot and conflagration, and is so little under the control of the San Francisco police, that the city sleeps, as it were, on its musket. There is not a church with any spiritual life in it on the Pacific coast that has not a class in its Sunday school for Chinamen. More than three thousand Chinese answer to the roll-call in evening mission schools in San Francisco, and study successfully the English language. Over three thousand attend sabbath school; a thousand, it is supposed, have accepted Christianity; it is certain, at least, that more than four hundred have been baptized. There are a thousand Chinese children born in this country. We have already more than a hundred Chinese students in American colleges and preparatory schools, and some of them outrank our best boys. [Applause.]

Do you say that there can be no assimilation between the races? Nitro-glycerine! That is the

proper metaphor for the relation of Irishmen to Chinese; and because this topic is so explosive we are asked by a few ministers in San Francisco, — I believe it is said we are asked by the general association of Congregational churches there, — to adopt the exclusive policy. There are Orangemen in Eastern cities, who do not like other Irishmen; and there is collision here between these two ranks of our citizens. We have had bloodshed in the Orange riots. Are we to debar Irish immigration on account of this local difficulty? Because of the explosive relations between the sand-lots and the Chinamen, are we to take the side of the sand-lots? What we do in the East is to put our hand a little roughly on the shoulder of both the Orangeman and his opponent, and say, "Peace! order!" If the mayor of San Francisco and the governor of California wish to represent the sentiment that will carry the votes of the serious parts of the United States; if there is to be union between the best politicians of the Pacific coast and the best of the country at large in the next Presidential election, the thing for California to do is to keep order, not only in Chinatown, but on the sand-lots; to seize by the nape of the neck the mobocracy and the hoodlum quarter of San Francisco, and, if necessary, by the nape of the neck the Chinese quarter also, but at any hazard to keep both in order, preserve the fundamental principles of our national policy, and make first pure and then peaceable our vexed western ocean shore, so far as it is trodden by cheap labor. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Go to the town of Rochdale, near Manchester, England, and you will find an immense establishment, called a co-operative store. You are an American traveller, and do not understand what this institution has done; and here is an English laborer, who is ignorant as to the results of co-operation among the poor. You take him as your companion, and step into the establishment; and he looks about, and asks you in a whisper, "Was all this done by poor folks like me?" A clerk comes forward, and answers the question by saying, "All that you see here belongs entirely to working-men. The store which you have come to visit originated with the poor, and with the poorest of the poor."

We walk with the clerk from room to room, and he points out the strategic quarters of the establishment. Here comes a poor widow, and she buys five dollars' worth of flour and meat and cloth. "Yes," says the poor English laborer; "but I see that she has to pay for every thing in cash." — "So she does," says the clerk; "nothing is sold here except for ready money: but wait, and watch the whole operation." The widow gets a tin certificate, showing that she has paid five dollars, or a pound, for goods at this store. She puts that into her pocket, and goes away. The clerk calls attention to the fact that there is no credit given here. "That may be a good thing," says the poor man: "there is not much encouragement here to get into debt."

—"No," says the clerk; "and we have no bad debts, because there is no credit. We can do a large business on a small capital, for we turn our money over often." The laborer asks, "Does that widow yonder, purchasing her goods, obtain them at a less cost than she could at the ordinary shops?" The clerk replies, "We save all that we should have to pay middlemen to manage this business. We save bad debts; we save an immense amount in advertising, because our customers, especially if they are shareholders, are sure to come here; we save all the profits which, in ordinary management of business, would go to the retail trader."

Our poor man wishes to know how he can become a member of this institution, and whether he can at once have the benefit of this new arrangement of trade; and the clerk tells him that, by paying a small sum, he can be recognized as a shareholder, can have a part in the management of the business, or that, if he saves his tin tickets representing the amount of his purchases, and there is a profit on the business, then, even if he is not a shareholder, he will get a part of the profit proportioned to the amount of his purchases. "This poor widow," says the clerk, "buys, in the course of the quarter, twenty-five dollars' worth of goods, and there comes a time when profits are divided. She brings in her tin tickets, as proof of the amount of her purchases; and she gets part of the dividend, even if she is not a shareholder. If she is a shareholder, she has the choice, to take her dividend, and put it in her pocket,

or to leave it in the establishment, as so much new stock, to draw further dividend in time to come."

The clerk informs us that the Rochdale co-operative store began with a few weavers, in 1844. The Rochdale pioneers were merely weavers, who, in a distressed period of the flannel-trade, thought it possible to club their means together, twenty-eight of them, and to purchase tea and sugar at wholesale prices, and they sell it *to* each other at retail prices, *and unadulterated!* [Applause.] Thank God that the topic of adulteration of food has lately been scientifically discussed in Boston [applause], and that now we know that, when poisoners take their places behind counters, they poison the poor in preference to the rich, but by no means wholly spare the latter. All adulterations, I believe, injure the poor more than the rich; and that is not only because the poor are obliged to buy in small parcels, and cannot be particular about the quality of their purchases, but because they have less power to make themselves heard in complaint.

This co-operative society, the clerk tells us, had, in 1857, a capital of £12,000,000. It has for years had a wholesale department, and this has a business worth more than $10,000,000 per annum. This department transacts business with 590 subsidiary co-operative stores. In expending more than $10,000,000 per annum, it loses less than $200 by bad debts. The cost of management, the clerk says, is only one per cent on the returns. He asks us to

notice that the number of co-operative societies in England and Wales is 746, and the number of members more than 300,000. At the end of 1872, the share capital amounted to more than $13,900,000. During that year, $55,000,000 were received, and $50,000,000 expended for goods. The net profit from all these sources was more than $4,000,000. (Compare BRASSEY, *Lectures on the Labor Question*, London, 1878, p. 113, with FAWCETT, *Manual of Political Economy*, chap. x.)

"Will you give me a document concerning this establishment?" says the poor laborer. "I wish to tell my friends of the results of the Rochdale enterprise, and its imitation in England." And I, as an American traveller, ask for the same documents. I say, "America is inventive, but co-operative stores have not had great prominence with us as yet; perhaps there will be some use for these documents, even in Massachusetts." The visit of the poor working-man and of the American traveller to the Rochdale co-operative store has thus resulted in our both going away with a pile of documents under our arms, and a new star in our hearts, — a star of hope for the poor, so far as co-operative distribution is concerned.

Co-operative production has not stood very well in England; but, as an American traveller, I look across the Channel, and find it has succeeded in France. There is another kind of co-operation that concerns banking. It has succeeded well neither in England nor in France, but it has in Germany; and

so, by enlarging my view, I come to these three propositions: —

1. In England there has been for thirty years great success in societies of co-operative consumption.

2. In France there has been for twenty-five years great success in societies of co-operative production.

3. In Germany there has been for twenty years great success in societies for co-operative credit.

So vast a theme can be glanced at here and now only in outlines; and I shall confine myself to-day to co-operative consumption.

These are the rules of the Rochdale co-operative store: —

1. No credit; payment in cash.

2. Goods bought at wholesale, and sold at ordinary retail prices.

3. Tin tickets or tallies given to each customer, to record the amount of his purchases.

4. After a dividend of five per cent has been allotted to capital, the surplus profits are divided among customers in proportion to the amount of their purchases.

5. Two and one-half per cent of the profits is devoted to education. A very valuable library belongs to the Rochdale establishment.

What are the advantages of a co-operative store?

It ill becomes me to follow the king. We are this morning honored by the presence of the patriot and

statesman, Mr. Quincy, who is founding a co-operative store in Boston. [Applause.] I remember what his ancestors did for New England and for the United States. [Applause.] But we are all agreed in thinking that, in founding institutions here for co-operative purchase and sale, and for co-operative loans and banking, he is acting quite as significantly as ever his ancestors did, or as ever he did himself when standing in the breach, and teaching the nation its duty concerning slavery. [Applause.] In co-operation is the opening, I believe, or certainly a wicket-gate into the path, towards the promised land for honest labor. I am no socialist, but I am a labor-reformer. I am in favor of co-operation; and when grave men with the weight of mighty careers upon them come forward, and in this city, not given to running after floating bubbles, advocate these schemes that have had so much success in England and France and Germany, I hope I shall be able to defend them without being subjected to the charge of opening a way to socialistic errors.

A co-operative store, arranged on the Rochdale plan, has these advantages:—

1. It has no bad debts.

2. As all the goods are paid for across the counter, a maximum of business can be carried on with a minimum of capital.

3. No credit is given, and none need be received. Under a system of credit the poorest are usually taxed fifteen or twenty per cent, to compensate the tradesman for losses incurred through the dishonest.

Credit leads to improvidence. The expense of solicitation of payment is saved by the abolition of the credit system.

4. The stock bought is sure to be taken by purchasers, and so waste and loss are reduced.

5. Frauds in weight, measure, and adulteration are provided against, and it is from these that the poorest consumers in ordinary trade suffer more than the rich.

6. Efficiency and economy of time in securing customers are secured.

7. Fair prices are the only ones possible.

8. All the larger expenses of advertising, bill-posting, and of costly show-windows, elaborate lighting apparatus, and high rents, are greatly diminished.

9. A spirit of self-help is promoted among working-men.

10. There is divided among the corporators the ordinary net profits of the retail trade.

The protective union stores which were in vogue in parts of this country a few years ago are an altogether different affair from the Rochdale associations. The method of conducting the former very often led to disaster. But I believe that there will be within a few months a co-operative store in Boston, avoiding all the errors of the earlier establishments called union stores, and gathering up all the wisdom of the thirty years' experience of Great Britain in these establishments, and putting on foot here in New England soil this young giant, who may have a

career before him all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific. [Applause.]

Here are four central passages from an official copy of the by-laws of the Boston Co-operative Store, organized Nov. 12, 1878: —

"ART. XIV. All purchases and sales shall be for cash only. Each purchaser shall be given a voucher, to be called a dividend check, showing the amount of his purchase. The directors shall prescribe the form, size, material, and manner of issue, of all such vouchers, and may alter the voucher or the manner of issue at their discretion. Vouchers issued to purchasers, during a certain quarter, shall not be entitled to dividend upon sales of any other quarter.

"ART. XV. The managing committee shall have special supervision of the affairs of any or all stores established by the directors. They shall draw money-orders upon the treasurer, for the payment of bills previously approved by them, and all such orders shall be signed by the president and one of the committee; or, in case of the president's absence or inability, the order shall be signed by two of the committee. Any vacancy on the committee shall be filled by the directors.

"ART. XVI. There shall be a quarterly adjustment of interest and profits. At each periodic stock-taking, all the shares shall be credited with interest at the rate of six per centum per annum upon their par value; provided that the directors may at their discretion, by special vote, fix the date from which time the first interest upon the shares shall be computed. If it shall then appear that there has been a net loss, the entire amount of such loss shall be debited to the shares, *pro rata*. If, after crediting the shares with six per cent interest, there shall appear to be a net profit, the contingent fund shall be credited with such a percentage of it as may be required by law, and the balance then remaining shall be transferred to an account to be called purchasers' dividend, and shall be disposed

of by the directors, who shall be governed by the following rules: —

"1st, They shall declare a percentage of dividend based upon the sales during the period, entitling the purchasers to 'whole dividends' and 'half dividends,' and excluding the class indicated in Rule 5.

"2d, Of the total amount of vouchers for each particular class of purchases handed in by any one person, at the end of any financial quarter, no dividend shall be paid upon a fractional part of a dollar.

"3d, Non-shareholding purchasers shall be paid a dividend only upon one-half the amount of their purchases.

"4th, The financial quarters shall end on the last days of February, May, August, and November.

"5th, The directors may at their discretion exclude wholly or partially from participation in the profits, such articles as in their judgment pay little or no profits.

"6th, The percentage of dividend declared shall not include a fractional part of one per cent, nor shall the undivided amount exceed a fractional part of one per cent.

"7th, All purchasers' dividends shall be paid on demand by the treasurer at such fixed times as the directors shall prescribe.

"8th, All purchasers' dividends remaining unpaid at the expiration of the fourth quarter next succeeding their declaration shall be forfeited to the corporation.

"9th, The undivided portion, and any portion remaining by reason of the exclusion of fractional parts of a dollar (see Rule 2), and any portion remaining by reason of the loss or non-presentation of dividend checks by purchasers, shall be added to the contingent fund at the end of the quarter.

"ART. XVII. All interest credit to shareholders upon their shares shall be payable on demand, at such fixed times as the directors shall prescribe, and shall not be compounded."

Everybody sees that customers are likely to go to co-operative stores, if the customers are shareholders; or if, by taking certificates of the extent of their purchases, they can be sure to receive a portion of any profits that are made. They are certain to go to the

co-operative store, whether it is advertised or not. You may put it on a back street. You need not put a rum-shop in its basement to draw men to it [applause], nor a gambling-hell in its attic. [Applause.] You need not depend on elaborate show-windows to attract trade; you need not pay drummers to torment the land. There is an immense reduction of expense on these few items; but the great point is, that whatever you would pay to the middlemen you put into the co-operators' pockets.

It can be shown, I think, that the Supreme Powers are in favor of captains of industry — when there is real work for them; but only then! I am not altogether opposed to the middleman. There must be somebody to think; somebody to plan; and the necessary manager ought to have a salary.

You will pay a good salary to the clerk in your co-operative store; but he is under the eye of the master whenever he is under the eye of a customer. Every time a shareholder comes in, the clerk feels that he is in the presence of one of his employers. Even the poor purchaser who takes a tin certificate, and looks forward to a dividend, although he is not a shareholder, is in some sense a taskmaster, with his eye on the right or wrong performance of the duties of the clerk. Thus we have efficiency and economy in the management of a co-operative store. The great points in favor of co-operative societies for the purchase and sale of ordinary goods are the distribution of the larger part of the profits of the middlemen to the customers, and the abolition of credit.

If you could be guaranteed against all bad debts, you could sell your goods lower. There is a civil-service store in London, which sells goods for twenty per cent. less than other stores; and, when a price-list of that establishment was shown to a trader in Manchester, he said, "I ask more because I must practise the credit system. If you will insure me against bad debts as perfectly as that co-operative store at Rochdale, or this civil-service store, is protected against them by their no-credit system, then I will sell twenty per cent lower, and have a larger income than now: otherwise I must tax the honest men, to make me safe against the rogues."

Thirty years of history point to six conclusions: Co-operation

1. Obviates strikes;

2. Stimulates the workman to industry and carefulness;

3. Incites him to frugality;

4. Improves his moral, social, and political character;

5. Provides for him employment independently of the will of the middleman;

6. Gives him the middleman's share of the profits. (See WALKER and FAWCETT on *Co-operation.*)

What is the difference between the co-operator and the communist? The communist depends on state-help, the co-operator on self-help. There is the leader of New-England co-operators [turning to Mr. Quincy]; and I beg you to contrast his guidance with that of socialistic and communistic errorists

and demagogues. Compare socialism with co-operation, state-help with self-help, Lasalle with Schulze-Delitzsch, Karl Marx with John Bright.

> "What is a communist? One who hath yearnings
> For equal division of unequal earnings.
> Idler or bungler, or both, he is willing
> To fork out his penny, and pocket your shilling."
>
> *Corn-law Rhyme.*

[Applause.]

V.

CO-OPERATIVE SAVINGS BANKS IN GERMANY.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 10.

Lord God, I thank thee that thou hast been pleased to make me a poor and indigent man upon earth. I have neither house, nor land, nor money to leave behind me. Thou hast given me wife and children whom I now restore to thee. Lord, nourish, teach, and preserve them as thou hast me. — LUTHER.

The true epic of our times is not arms and the man, but tools and the man — an infinitely wider kind of epic. — CARLYLE.

V.

CO-OPERATIVE SAVINGS BANKS IN GERMANY.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

ALASKA is under the direct control of Congress; and yet women are sold there into slavery and other conditions to which death is preferable. The Alaskan mother not infrequently carries her female infant into the fields, fills its mouth with grass, and leaves it to die, and justifies herself by saying before God that she wishes she had been treated in the same way. Our icy purchase from Russia, as most of us may have pictured it to ourselves, is thought to be so cold that it can have no interest to us, and no importance to the nation. Mr. Dall of Boston, who has written the standard work on Alaska, tells us that on half the coast of the territory the thermometer never has been known to fall below zero. He thinks no polar bear ever came within a thousand miles of Sitka. (DALL, *Alaska*, p. 242.) Mr. Sumner was accustomed to cite the experience of navigators who would moor their barks along the Alaskan shore, and through

the whole winter never find the ice strong enough to make a bridge from their vessels to the land.

The isotherm of 50° of average annual temperature runs through Sitka. It passes also through Lake Superior and Quebec. Capt. Cook, who, one hundred years ago last year, saw and named Mount St. Elias, said that cattle might subsist in Oonalaska all the year through without being sheltered. The mean temperature of winter in Alaska, as estimated by the Smithsonian Institution, is 32.30°, while that of summer is 53.37°. The Washington winter is 33.57°, and the Washington summer 73.07°. The winters of Alaska do not differ much from those of Washington, although the summers are colder. The winter of Sitka is milder than that of St. Petersburg or Berlin or Boston. (Compare SUMNER'S works, vol. xi., p. 281, with DALL, *Alaska*, p. 437.) On the Upper Yukon, in midsummer, the thermometer sometimes stands at 112°, and the traveller blesses the transient coolness of the midnight air.

The westernmost territory of the United States lies farther beyond San Francisco toward the sunset than the easternmost does on this side toward the sunrise. As Guyot has said, San Francisco is the middle city in the United States. Take the meridian line running through San Francisco, and follow it northward to a point on the same parallel with the island of Atton in the Aleutian Archipelago. Measure the distance from this meridian westward to that island [illustrating on Berghaus' chart of the world], and you will find it greater than that from the same

meridian eastward to the Bay of Fundy. In the short summer nights the sun never goes down on the territory of the United States. The light of the sunset has not ceased to gleam on the spears of the fishermen around the island of Atton, when that of the sunrise commences to flash on the glinting axes of the woodsmen in the forests of Maine.

When this morning I covered Alaska on my globe, and then plucked up the screen which had its four corners at Mount St. Elias, and on the Arctic Ocean, and at Behring's Straits, and at the island of Atton, and put down the screen upon the United States, I found all our Union covered east of the Mississippi and north of the Carolinas and Alabama. Take what there is of the United States east of the Mississippi, and cut off the Gulf States, and all that is left is no larger than this neglected Northern Territory.

Charles Sumner used no grandiloquent speech concerning Alaska. Seward estimated correctly the importance of this region, and so did the nation, when, under his lead, the government paid for it more than seven millions of dollars. The Pacific coast is singularly destitute of harbors. It can no longer be said, now that we possess Alaska, that three gunboats can blockade our whole Western seaboard. The natural route to China and Japan, after the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad, will be through the North Pacific. From San Francisco to Hong Kong, by the way of Honolulu, the distance is 7,140 miles; but, by the way of the Aleutian isles, only 6,060.

You will pardon me if I call attention to the reasons why Alaska is so warm. Everybody understands that the continents are tally-ho coaches driving towards the sunrise, and that the wind blows in the faces of those who sit on the front seats of coaches. The wind that bore Columbus across the Atlantic, and Magellan across the Pacific, blows in the faces of the flying coaches of the continents driving out of the sunset into the sunrise. As the trade-winds in the tropics move from east to west at a speed often reaching fifteen or eighteen miles an hour, they produce a current in the ocean flowing in the same direction across the tropical zone. When that current strikes the east side of a continent, it divides, and part goes north, and part south. As the portion moving towards the pole flows away from the tropics, it of course reaches a part of the earth moving with less rapidity than that from which it came. Everybody sees that the equator must revolve with far greater rapidity than the Arctic circle, simply because it is larger, and must turn around in the same time. The motion of the earth decreases from the equator to the pole. As the warm current passes from the equator to the north sea in our Atlantic basin, it is constantly transferring itself to parallels that move less rapidly than those which it left at its last place of departure. The water does not at once lose the speed of eastern motion it had nearer the equator, and so slips eastward faster than the northern water it meets. Thus arises a translation of a great body of water toward

the sunrise. In this way originates the Gulf Current, the cause of which was a mystery for ages.

So, too, in the Pacific Ocean, under the sweep of the trade-winds and the influence of the difference of temperature between the torrid and the northern waters, there is produced an enormous equatorial current, moving from east to west. On reaching the Asiatic coast and islands, a part of this vast stream goes north, and a part south. The portion which goes north is of course always dropping into latitudes where the motion of the earth is less rapid; and therefore there is a translation of the waters toward America. Thus springs up a gulf-current in the Pacific. (GUYOT, *Physical Geography*, p. 65.) It pours out of the East Indies as ours does out of the West Indies. It laves the coast of China and Japan as ours does that of America. It is called the Japan Current, or Black Water, and farther on has the name of the North Pacific Current. It divides at the westernmost end of the Aleutian Islands. A part of it runs through Behring's Straits. That is the reason why ice never drifts through those straits into the Pacific, and why the transit for steamers between China and the United States is likely to be free from icebergs. The larger part of the current goes south of the Aleutian Archipelago, and strikes our continent first on the coast of Alaska. As the Gulf Current warms England, so does the North Pacific Current warm Alaska and Oregon. But the Atlantic is more open to the Arctic Sea than the Pacific is, and so the latter current is less cooled by cold water from the north than the former.

The climate of Alaska is so wet that the forests on the mountain-sides near Sitka will not burn. Naturally enough the trees of the region attain a gigantic size. Some of you have put your hand on the Alaskan canoe which was in the collection of curious objects at Philadelphia in our Centennial Exhibition. The boat that I saw there was fifty or sixty feet long, and made of a single tree; and it was said to be capable of carrying sixty or seventy men. Travellers tell us that sometimes trees in Alaska are so large that out of one of them a boat can be made large enough to carry a hundred men. You find a sound tree, cut it down, hollow it, then fill it with water, put canvas over the structure, and make the water boil by throwing in hot stones. That softens the wood. Then you spread apart the sides, and produce a form of beautiful symmetry, and thus you construct the famous Alaskan canoe.

> "Lo! to the wintry winds the pilot yields
> His bark careering o'er unfathomed fields;
> Cold on his midnight watch the breezes blow
> From wastes that slumber in eternal snow,
> And waft across the waves' tumultuous roar
> *The wolf's long howl from Oonalaska's shore.*"
>
> CAMPBELL: *Pleasures of Hope.*

The wetness of Alaska produces not only fat forests, but a great river-system. The Yukon stream, which we rarely notice, has more water in it than the Mississippi. It is not as long as the Mississippi and the Missouri taken together, and yet it is two thousand miles long, and is navigable for fifteen

hundred miles from its mouth. In portions of its lower course it is so wide that one of its banks cannot be seen from the other. It freezes in October, and opens in May.

The warm Pacific current, striking against the half-arctic shore, produces abundant fogs and rains. The Alaskan climate is that of Northern Scotland, very wet, sometimes frosty, but on the whole not such as to clasp the forest in any deadly embrace, nor to destroy pasturage. I am not recommending Alaska, however, as an agricultural region. The money obtained in the seal fur-trade among the islands along the Alaskan coast is more in amount than the interest on the sum we paid for Alaska. A shallow sea skirts the Aleutian Archipelago; and there are in it fishing-banks more extensive, and likely to be more profitable, than those of Newfoundland. The timber is an important source of supply to ship-builders over half the world. Go to Sydney and Melbourne, go to the ports of South America, go to San Francisco, or to the West Indies, or to some of the British provinces in the East Indies, and you will find ship-timber marked as coming from Alaska. There are important mines of coal and copper in this gnarled, dripping land. The forests, the fisheries, and the mines have already attracted to Alaska a hardy population. The fur-trade is a copious source of wealth. It is more than possible that the fisheries may be as important as those of our eastern coast have been, as a nursery for the American marine.

What is the moral condition of Alaska? Its religious wants were not neglected by Russia: how have they been met by the United States? The Russian Greek Church had a chapel, several schools, a seminary, seven missionary districts, eleven priests, and sixteen deacons, in Alaska. The American Church finds it hard to raise the pittance needed to maintain two or three teachers there at this hour. Not long ago, out of a school managed by an American lady in Alaska, a white man captured a girl, and, when the mother of the maiden signified her willingness to sell her for twenty blankets, the teacher interfered. But the parents insisted on removing the pupil from school, and dragged her down to the river, and told her she must take her place in the canoe. The girl drew back, and said, "You may kill me. I shall not leave my teacher." And yet *you* leave that teacher in want of food and shelter, and thus leave hundreds of these pupils — they number nearly hundreds now — to be drawn back into paganism, and drawn down from paganism into something yet more horrible! The Russian Fur Company spent six thousand dollars a year to support Christian missions in Alaska; and there were other sources of income there, such that ten thousand dollars a year came from Russia and the Greek Church into this territory, for educational and religious enterprises. After Russia left the territory, the benevolent schemes of the Greek Church came into our hands as a sacred trust. Gen. Howard, sent by our government to investigate the religious condition of the territory, made a powerful

appeal to the nation to send teachers and missionaries to Alaska. Roman Catholics have endeavored to take possession of the territory. All told, there is now not more than the sum of three thousand dollars a year going to Alaska to promote the religious interests of the territory. We are three times more penurious toward Alaska than Russia was under the Greek Church. (See documents by Rev. SHELDON JACKSON, D.D., missionary in Alaska, and editor of "The Rocky Mountain Presbyterian," Denver, Col.) I read of a chief forty-five years old, coming from the interior of Alaska to school, and saying, "Teach me the English language, that I may read the Bible. You teach these tribes nearer the coast; but my people in the interior are dark, dark, and in a little time they will all die, and they will go down, down, dark." This not thoughtless savage burst into tears, asking only for a little light to lead his tribe out of witchcraft, sorcery, the burning of widows, the maiming of the aged, the killing of decrepit parents, and all the barbarisms down to cannibalism, which belong yet to some of the descendants of the Esquimaux and Indian tribes in Alaska. The worst tribe in the territory is made up of unprincipled white men among the miners. There are about seventy thousand Indians in Alaska, and about thirty thousand whites and half-breeds. We are not increasing the numbers of the schools, but we are of the population — and of the half-breeds!

Charles Sumner's ghost stands on the Pacific coast, and from under the shadows of Mount St. Elias

points out to us that in Alaska we have the key to the northern Pacific. Seward's spirit hovers along the Aleutian Islands, looking upon us through the smoke of the ten volcanoes which there belch their fire and ashes toward the sky. John Eliot, through the clear northern azure, spreads his hands above the men of the Yukon. When I turn that way, I see, behind these historic spirits, the angel that appeared to one of old, and said, "Come over into Macedonia, and help us." [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence came from working-men's societies, organized for self-help; that is, from the guilds of the cities of Northern Italy and of the Hanseatic League. The pierced right hand of the Founder of Christianity drew the crusades to the East. The ports of Venice and of Genoa were filled with clamorous multitudes, who brought wealth to the merchants and the working-people of these towns. The real cause of the commercial supremacy of Venice was in her municipal self-rule; and the cause of that self-rule was in her guilds and in the vigor which increasing wealth gave to her merchants and citizens through self-help; and the increasing wealth came from the crusades, and the crusades from the attraction of the Holy Sepulchre. In the crusades the pierced right hand of Christ put the ballot into the palm of the modern ages. Of course the contest was a long one. Municipal freedom began the career of democracy in the

modern world, and municipal freedom itself began in the guilds of working-men. The Hanseatic League and the cities of Northern Italy bought privileges from aristocrats. Little by little the guilds became strong enough to hold their heads aloft in cities, even while kings threatened, and aristocrats moved as surly sweeping storms above the homes of the middle classes and the poor. At last King John had Magna Charta wrenched from him, and this was done partly by aristocrats, I grant; and yet there never would have been power in the aristocracy of England to have obtained Magna Charta, but for the strength of municipal freedom, itself depending on the strength of working-men's guilds.

You think that the obscure organizations which I am to discuss this morning are not important signs of the times; but, when I look back to Venice and Genoa and the cities of Holland, I take instruction from history, and am forced to the conclusion that there is nothing much more significant than the brooding of the spirit of Christianity upon the masses, and their inspiration to self-help industrially, socially, and politically. As in the past working-men's organizations for self-help have, under the power of Christianity, changed the course of history, so in the future it may be that the organization of self-help among the masses is to give a new coloring, if not a new shape, to the industrial world.

Here I am, let us suppose, with nothing but my hands and head and health with which to support a family. It may be I am an operative; perhaps I am

a small trader. I wish to borrow money enough to build a house, or to enlarge my stock in trade. I go to the banks, and say that I will give my note for five hundred dollars; but the banks tell me that although I may be an honest man, and a skilful workman, still it is very uncertain whether my skill will be employed, or whether I shall have steady business if I am a small trader. Thus I find that I cannot give security for a loan, and I am crippled. If I could borrow a little money, I could start in trade in such a way as to turn my stock, and perhaps in a year or two have an independent business. Without the necessary capital I am weak, and especially so in competition with great firms that count their capital by millions. I am an operative, and should be very glad to build a house, and own it; but as I have no capital except my physical powers, and cannot give any security except the prospect that I shall get work, when I stand alone nobody will trust me, even if I have a good reputation and while my health continues. Here are corporations with millions behind them running factories, and I am but one man. If I start a private business of my own, instantly some gigantic competition comes into collision with it. Sometimes these great corporations have to suspend business, and although I am employed by a corporation I may yet be thrown out of work. So while I stand here a small trader, or a respectable operative, and stand alone, I cannot borrow much. I have labor, but I have neither capital nor credit.

There are three great commercial powers in the

world, — labor, capital, credit. The working-man has the first of these three: how can he get the others? This is the most important question in modern industrial discussions.

I go to my neighbors, and say, "What if we become jointly and severally responsible for the money either of us wants to borrow? Cannot we do something? We are all small traders. What if we and several operatives and mechanics unite, and make ourselves responsible in a body for the money that we may individually need? Such an arrangement would help us to credit. Perhaps we could get a hearing with the banks and capitalists, and be able to start our small enterprises, and maintain them occasionally in competition with these gigantic schemes which are our rivals."

My neighbors, however, are immersed in their own private affairs. It is hard to get a hearing on a new scheme, and I am but a working-man. Nobody thinks I am wise. It is difficult to obtain attention; and when you have secured a hearing from the public, you have, as Gladstone says, only lifted a drowsy man out of sleep. He is perpetually dropping back upon his pillow. It is a very hard thing to get attention when you have all the public facilities; but when you are only a working-man, an operative, how are you to bring your schemes before the public, and secure any large success of co-operation?

In spite of discouragement, however, I, as an operative, keep on thinking concerning this matter. I read about it. At last I ascertain, what I ought to

have known at first, that there are now in Germany nearly thirty years of experience behind co-operative societies of the very sort I wish to found. The attention of the most learned nation on the globe has been caught, has been held, and the attention of the German government has been held, the attention of capital has been held, to this very theme of co-operative savings banks ever since 1850. This intelligence is a godsend to me, and I dwell upon it in detail.

1. Schulze-Delitzsch's credit banks were begun in 1850. In 1870, according to official reports, they did a business of more than three hundred million dollars. The number of co-operating working-men connected with these associations in Germany is more than a million.

2. The fundamental principle of these German co-operative savings and loan associations is that it is unworthy of a man to ask help as long as he has power to help himself, and that the laborers who desire capital and credit can obtain them by co-operation or self-help better than by state-help.

Let the sand-lots listen! Let socialistic mercenaries with joints in extra numbers in every limb; let philanthropic paupers, who would have the State lift the masses into all their business enterprises, and sustain them there, attend to the voice of experience as uttered by no dreamer, but by Schulze-Delitzsch, a deadly opponent of Lasalle the agitator, who always insisted on state-help and nothing else.

3. Joint and several responsibility of the associated working-men is the basis on which credit is

asked. The German co-operative banks founded by Schulze-Delitzsch are organized on the principle of unlimited responsibility of the co-operators for the debts of the society to which they belong. All are for each, and each is for all.

My college class had for its motto, *Ekasto summakoi pantes*, "All the allies of each." This is the organizing and victorious principle of the German co-operative banks.

4. Every member must give proof, before his admission, that he is solvent.

5. Each member must become a shareholder.

6. A share is a sum easily within the reach of economical working-men. Sometimes a share is only two hundred dollars.

7. It may be paid by instalments.

8. No dividend can be drawn on it until it is paid in full.

9. Profits due on partly paid shares are added to the portion paid until the share is matured; that is, paid in full.

10. Only members of the society can participate in its profits, and so in proportion to the chance of gain is the risk of loss.

11. The number of members is unlimited; entrance and exit occur under easily fulfilled conditions.

If there were an exclusive arrangement for the entrance to these savings and loan associations, they would become aristocratic in a short time; but the doors stand open, and the German law compels them

to continue open. Whoever can meet these easy conditions is admitted. There is no tyranny in the regulations concerning exit, and nothing aristocratic in those concerning admission.

12. A reserve-fund is formed from entrance-fees and a percentage of the net profits.

13. Liability for deficits falls first on the reserve fund, then on the paid capital of the society, and lastly on the private property of the members.

14. The people's bank is an association of persons, and not merely an association of capital, and so differs from a joint-stock society.

What is the difference between a joint-stock company and one of these co-operative banks? In a joint-stock company only the capital put in is responsible for any losses that may occur in the course of business; but in one of these co-operative banks not only is the capital put in responsible, and not only is the reserved fund made up from the entrance-fees of members responsible, but the private property of the members is responsible also. Suppose that a society for co-operative credit wants to borrow money, do you think the banks will give it any attention? Will the society be able to offer security? One of the associated working-men taken alone is worth no more as security than I was when I started in my discussion of this theme; but all of them taken together, with their small properties used in one solid mass as security, are able to obtain credit.

Well, you say, what if they are able? What is the importance of that fact in the world? How is it

that in modern discussion of philanthropic enterprises such emphasis is laid on this ability of average working-men to get large credit? If they can obtain funds by the use of societies of credit, how do you know but they may have the ability by and by to manage societies of production? Co-operative societies of credit lie at the basis of co-operative societies of consumption, and these at the basis of co-operative societies of production; and God knows what reform might not stand on the pedestal of these three blocks of granite if only we can make the foundation-stone firm!

15. Thus associated, working-men can borrow money of the capitalists. *The solidarity of the co-operators makes each one of them worthy of credit.*

16. The share-capital is supplemented by loans contracted in the open market.

In Germany the people's co-operative banks are able to go into the money market, and borrow funds in large loans as well as any other banks. The historic certainty is that there is no other class of banks in Germany that does as much business to-day as these co-operative savings and loan associations among working-men. Schulze-Delitzsch is dead and gone. He was only a superior officer of the town of Delitzsch, a place of not more than six thousand inhabitants, and was once in the Prussian parliament; and yet his philosophy is permeating Germany at this hour, and is the watchword of the sober working class.

17. There is still further augmentation of share-capital in these banks by savings deposits.

Thus far I have discussed the people's banks of Germany only as credit associations, but I must now emphasize the fact that they take the place of the average savings banks. So much uneasiness has been sown through this Commonwealth in regard to American care of trust-funds, that the diminution in the deposits in Massachusetts savings banks alone during the last year was greater than the whole amount of deposits in these institutions in this State twenty years ago. I am not attacking our savings banks, but the managers of some of them have deserved distrust. If there were a gibbet here, and two or three of the savings-banks directors were present who have cheated orphans and widows, one would like to choke the thieves until they should be at least frightened! [Applause.] If there is any infamy in the list of defalcations blacker than another, it is the breach of trust in the care of the funds the poor widow has gathered from her work at midnight with the needle, the funds the poor shop-girl has earned in making shirts, twelve of them for thirty-six cents, the funds the poor shop-boy has saved by starving himself when he was not paid enough to cover the cost of his board. Your savings bank receives these deposits; and then some light-fingered officer hears of a good chance to invest the funds, contrary to the rules of the bank. He is convinced that his motives are good. His judgment may be poor, indeed, but he is so sure that he has an honest heart, and that we must risk something, or we shall never gain any thing, and that the chances of his venture are excellent, that he

takes the savings put into his hands for sacred keeping, and invests them, not for the purpose of multiplying the funds of the widow or of the orphan, but for that of taking a large commission privately, and stuffing it into his own purse. The result sometimes is that the bank has to suspend in order that a few of these emissaries of Gehenna may try their experiments on Wall Street and State Street. [Applause.] It is a fearful sign of the times, when the poor distrust the savings banks. If the distrust goes much further, the time will come when rich men cannot put their money into savings banks, and hide it under false pretences, and so get it out of the taxable lists. [Applause.] It is audacious heresy to refer to these matters; and yet, as I have no interest in any savings bank, nor in any other bank in particular, I shall be allowed to affirm that the co-operative savings banks, begun by the working-men of Germany, are worthy of imitation even in Massachusetts, and in competition with your best-managed American banks. That statesman, Mr. Quincy, who sat on this platform last Monday, is now engaged not only in opening a co-operative store in Massachusetts, but also in founding co-operative savings and loan societies on the German plan.

17. The deposits in the co-operative savings banks are not to be withdrawn without due notice.

18. Funds are lent to members only.

19. These regulations make it possible for working-men to borrow money enough to conduct building-societies, and other co-operative enterprises. They

make possible the success of co-operative manufactures and production of all kinds.

I hold in my hand an official copy of a German law signed by the Emperor William and Bismarck; and in it are all the details of legislation on which these co-operative banks are founded. Here is a brief, incisive extract from Schulze-Delitzsch, with which I must trouble you, because it is a summary of the principles of these renowned institutions now representing the industrial interests of a million and a half of working-men: —

"In our associations the principle of self-assistance in relation to the necessity for ready money in trade and social economy, for those who either cannot command at all or only under onerous conditions the ordinary banking facilities, is so brought into operation that —

"1. The loan-seekers are themselves supporters and managers of the institution established for the satisfaction of their credit necessities, that is, members of the advance association; and thereby risk and profit of the business are to them common.

"2. The money transactions, enabled by means of the association, are everywhere arranged on a business footing (lending and borrowing); so that bank interest, according to the state of the money-market, is assured to the creditors from the society treasury, as well as to the latter from the borrower; similarly, a proportionate remuneration to officials, such as treasurers, for their official labors.

"3. Either by paying in the full sum at once, or very gradually by continual little assessments upon the members, 'business shares' are formed in the society treasury, in accordance with the respective amounts of which the business profits are divided and allotted to them until reaching the sum originally determined upon, whereby as by stock one obtains a continually increasing special capital for the society business.

"4. Through admission-fees of members, and division of profits, a general fund of the society is collected as a reserve, which especially serves to cover losses.

"5. The foreign or outside capital which may be in addition requisite for the full business working of the society is obtained by borrowing upon common credit, and under *the responsibility in solido of all the members.*

"6. In conclusion, the number of members is unlimited, and admission stands open to all who can fulfil the general conditions of the constitution; likewise, the exit from the society, the latter under the condition of a certain time of notice given.

"It will be at once understood, that in regard to the question of by far the greatest importance, viz., the obtaining a sufficient business fund for our people's banks, the afore-prescribed measures Nos. 3 and 5 must go hand in hand." (On the German people's banks see an admirable article in Meyer's Deutsches Jahr-Buch, 1872, pp. 704-715.)

The Rochdale co-operative stores, the German co-operative banks, the multitudes of benefit-societies among working-men, are not a scheme: they are a growth. I believe in historic results which are not planned of man, but brought about by the operation of great natural forces. The British Constitution is such a result. Co-operative credit banks are not so much a plan of man as a natural growth from the deep new soil of the industrial world under the sunlight of Christianity.

Go to France, where every thing is or was done on paper. Go to France, where Louis XIV. said, "L'état, c'est moi!" Contrast co-operation in France under state-help with co-operation in Germany under self-help. Lasalle's doctrine, in contradistinction to that of Schulze-Delitzsch, has been brought into ac-

tivity in France, from which, indeed, he learned it. He was accustomed to say that the state is made up of ninety-six working-men and four capitalists, and that the four capitalists ought to enable the ninety-six working-men to start their enterprises, and therefore should give them credit. It was Lasalle's doctrine, that every co-operative institution formed by working-men should be nursed by the state, and given money enough to compete with its rivals. What has been the history of that doctrine? Self-help! I have exhibited its worthy career in Germany. State-help! Here are the sad propositions which summarize its unworthy career in French industrial history: —

1. Co-operation becomes a species of communism when the state supplies capital to co-operative societies.

2. In February, 1848, the French government organized a large number of national workshops, and voted three million francs for their use.

3. Three-fourths of the societies perished after a brief period.

Why did they perish? Because the working-men had no stimulation comparable with that under the other system. They had less stimulation to industry, they had less to honesty and to foresight; and without honesty and foresight these institutions all went to wreck. Where are the orators of communism and socialism who clamor for the opening of public workshops, in order to give the poor labor? Where are the men who think that state-help should stand behind all co-operative enterprises of the poor? Let

them look at the wrecked French governmental workshops killed by state-help, and at the German co-operative banks successful through self-help.

4. The progress of socialism and communism was aided by every application of state-help to co-operative societies.

5. The state lost its money, and did not benefit the working-men.

6. Only a remnant of the societies, which substantially rejected state-help, and depended on self-help, survived.

7. There are now at least forty examples of successful societies of co-operative production in Paris alone, but they depend on self-help.

8. Industrial partnerships based on self-help are increasingly successful in France.

How do industrial partnerships differ from working-men's co-operative societies? The former give the working-man a certain percentage of the profits of the business in which he labors. Bonamy Price says that England does not believe in industrial partnerships, because employers cannot promise to pay working-men a portion of the profits unless the laborers will be responsible for any possible loss. This they cannot be. The same cool argument is used in the United States against such partnerships. But what if by co-operative savings banks and loan associations working-men should at last become able to say to their employers, "We will bear our part of the losses in the business in which we labor, if you will give us an industrial partnership with capital and

in the profits, a certain percentage agreed on by arbitration"? Then possibly they would obtain a hearing. Thus, at the bottom of all industrial partnerships, at the basis of all co-operative production or co-operative societies for sale of the most necessary articles of consumption, lies co-operative credit.

As a friend of both rich and poor, I plant my feet upon the corner-stone of the institutions of Schulze-Delitzsch, or co-operation through self-help among working-men. And may God bless this foundation of an edifice not yet built, but of which every stone may be laid in harmony with the plan shown us on the Mount! Not state-help, not forced loans, not irredeemable currency as a source of credit, not political land, not the abolition of inheritance; but the spirit of Christianity laying the foundation-stone of self-help, and building up on it industry, honesty, foresight among the masses, until co-operative credit and co-operative production and industrial partnerships become possible and common, — this is a slowly rising temple, of which the completion would be the joy of the whole earth! For one, I believe it safe to predict that the spirit of Christianity will preside over this structure until the summit of the edifice will rise as a worshipping spire or tower toward God, with a bell in it which will some day speak loud enough to drown and hush the voices not only of fleecers of the poor, and of any tyrants among capitalists, but also of foul-mouthed and shallow declaimers for socialism and communism. [Applause.]

VI.

DEATH-TRAPS AND FEVER-DENS IN CITY SLUMS.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIXTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 17.

These are the days of advance, the works of the men of mind,
When who but a fool would have faith in a tradesman's ware or his word,
When the poor are hovelled and hustled together, each sex like swine;
When only the ledger lives, and when only not all men lie;
And the vitriol madness flushes up in the ruffian's head,
Till the filthy by-lane rings to the yell of the trampled wife.

TENNYSON: *Maud.*

To that dingy fuliginous Operative, emerging from his soot-mill, what is the first duty I will prescribe, and offer help towards? That he clean the skin of him. *Can* he pray, by any ascertained method? One knows not entirely; but with soap and a sufficiency of water, he can wash. Even the dull English feel something of this: they have a saying, "Cleanliness is near of kin to Godliness;" yet never, in any country, saw I operative men worse washed, and, in a climate drenched with the softest cloud-water, such a scarcity of baths! Alas! Sauerteig, our "operative men" are at present short even of potatoes: what "duty" can you prescribe to them! — CARLYLE.

VI.

DEATH-TRAPS AND FEVER-DENS IN CITY SLUMS.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

Spoils spoil politics in this country, and will continue to do so until we spoil the spoils. The best blow of late in spoiling the spoils has been the Presidential Message attacking the New York Custom-House as a partisan establishment in the President's own party. [Applause.] I honor men for courage on the battle-field, and also for courage in the halls of Congressional and general public debate. Surely it required courage in the leader of the dominant party in the United States, to act against the majority of his own party, and to smite this great cancer with a resolute plunge of a deep reforming blade, as he has done. Although you may blame President Hayes for various things, and may not be of his political party, you must recollect that he is attacking an evil rooted in the Senate itself, and in the very core of our politics, and in the great cities especially, and having its tap-root in the municipality at the mouth

of the Hudson, where commerce has for years winked at the evils of politics in the national custom-house. It is a marvel that by the aid of votes from both parties, this President has been enabled to get his nominations confirmed. It is a marvel, because the evil is so deep-seated and is so connected with the growth of the country. The victory has a cheerful significance for the future.

The white gulls that sail above the waters at the mouth of the Hudson will look down in two hundred years on a commerce there greater than that of London. As our population is doubling every thirty or forty years, we shall soon have two-thirds of the imports, and half the exports, of the wealthiest of nations, passing through that one gate of the sea. Sixty-five per cent of the imports, and fifty of the exports, of the whole country, pass through New York Harbor. The New York Custom-House collects two-thirds of the whole customs revenue of the nation. Here is a chance for spoils. Not a little oiling has been applied to these commercial gates by henchmen, who clamor for harmony, lest the New York State vote be lost in some closely contested Presidential election. In spite of these oleaginous thieves, the truth at last is told concerning the New York Custom-House by a President, who, in his attack on the abuses of the civil service, is supported not by his own party exclusively, but by the best men of all political parties in the United States. The great gates of the ocean at New York, on which no hands but those of the nation should ever be laid,

have been swung to and fro by merely partisan politicians, until their creaking has aroused executive remonstrance from Washington. It is evident that not New York State only, and not only the circle of towns that have their trade centring at the mouth of the Hudson, but the whole country, is interested in having this giant custom-house managed on business principles. What has the President told us? His official language is very grave, and is likely to be remembered in history. It is the fact, the President affirms, that the men appointed to manage this custom-house have "regarded the duties of the offices held by them as subordinate in importance to their partisan work" as leaders of a political party in New York City and State. The President assures the Senate that they have made the custom-house "a centre of political management." Everybody knows that this is the truth, and that it is important truth, and that it requires courage to proclaim it in a Presidential message. An executive order, sustained by the Senate, has been issued, changing the New York Custom-House from a headquarters of partisan political enterprises, into a place of business for the commerce of the nation. [Applause.]

Goldwin Smith affirms that under party government a nation very rarely hears the truth on politics except from men who have no aspiration for high office. The leaders of our political parties are all of them aspirants for high office; and it is only now and then, when a politician who is a leader happens to be also a statesman, that we obtain from him the

undistorted truth. The platform, the pulpit, and the independent press are to be looked to for frank discussion of the highest moral issues of public affairs, where partisan interests and personal selfishness warp the opinions, and especially the public expressions, of partisan leaders.

It may be that only one pebble is in the shoe of the nation, and yet the weight of the whole body politic is sometimes thrown on the shoe containing that single pebble, and on that part of the shoe in which the pebble lies! Our political system is so arranged that a local evil may easily have a national effect. An election in one State may decide a Presidential contest, and so what are supposed to be general interests may require silence as to some local evil. On the California coast there is a pebble which we call the Chinese question; and just now the gigantic forms of the Democratic and the Republican parties rise on tiptoe, and stand on that pebble. The pain that results, shoots through every limb of the body politic. It is feared a closely contested Presidential election in 1880 may turn on the Chinese question in California; and so all we on the east coast and in the Mississippi Valley must bow down to sand-lot oratory. The floor of the Senate itself is at this hour transformed into something very like a sand-lot. [Applause.]

We are likely to see such results over and over whenever one State can determine a Presidential election. The size and fatness of the national spoils at stake are the main issue. The Chinese question is

not the only illustration of the crescent danger from this source. The Custom-House of New York is another. What if a New York senator makes unconstitutional pretensions to control executive appointments in New York? Harmony between any great New York senator and the executive must be maintained. Hush up the sins of the custom-house, and save the party! These are the cries of the henchmen at New York and in Albany. We must have the vote of New York in 1880: otherwise the Republican party cannot succeed. Whether honestly or dishonestly, let us keep schism out of our own camp. With spoils larger than Cæsar or Antony or Lepidus ever clutched at, standing at the disposal of our Democratic and Republican parties, it is surprising that there is as much honesty in them as there is. While the spoils system is followed, a hundred thousand men are to be put out of office or into it every time the parties that change control the government.

There is a brave body of men in the Legislature of New York, who lately elected a senator with the understanding that he carried the New York Custom-House in his pocket. He appears to have carried a majority of the New York Legislature there also. When the President's preparation to oppose the New York senator had grown portentous, and seemed likely to be successful, about forty-seven of the courageous men in the Legislature of New York sent a petition asking the senators as a body to confirm the nominations of the President, and then privately

wrote to the New York senator they were very sorry for what they had done, that they had been wheedled into the gift of their signatures, and that they hoped all would be forgiven and forgotten.

If these things occur in a green tree, what will occur in a dry? It is startling enough to find cipher despatches humiliating the nation; it is startling to find the management of a great custom-house making us hang our heads; it is startling to find our Senate smiting a peaceful power like China in the face without any provocation. If we would understand these phenomena, we must go behind them, and study the enormous size of the spoils which are at stake in partisan politics in this country; and we shall see clearly that the only way to diminish the temptations to greed and fraud is to reform the civil service so as to lessen the size of the spoils.

There has been nothing more resonant and hopeful in recent American politics than the letter I hold in my hand from the Executive Mansion to the present chief officer of the Custom-House at New York: —

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
Feb. 4, 1879.

My dear General, — I congratulate you on your confirmation. It is a great gratification to me, very honorable to you, and will prove, I believe, of signal service to the country. My desire is that the office be conducted on strictly business principles, and according to the rules for the civil service which were recommended by the civil-service commission in the administration of Gen. Grant. I want you to be perfectly independent of mere influence from any quarter. Neither my recommendation, nor that of Secretary Sherman, nor of any member of

Congress or other influential person, must be specially regarded. Let appointments and removals be made on business principles, and according to rule. There must, I assume, be a few confidential places filled by those you personally know to be trustworthy; but restrict the area of patronage to the narrowest limits. Let no man be put out merely because he is a friend to Mr. Arthur, and no man put in merely because he is our friend. The good of the service should be the sole end in view. The best means yet presented, it seems to me, are the rules recommended by the civil-service commission. I shall issue no new order on the subject at present. I am glad you approve of the message, and I wish you to see that all that is expressed or implied in it is faithfully carried out.

Again congratulating you, and assuring you of my entire confidence, I remain sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

To Gen. E. A. Merritt.

This letter is a deed, and not merely a promise. It has in it the ring of the best American political platforms. Perhaps in one of its sentences may be found the explanation of certain appointments made by President Hayes, and criticised by the country as based on favoritism. He says that he assumes that a few places must be filled by trustworthy persons known to the appointing power. For one, I believe that most of the appointments that have been criticised could be explained by the necessity of having a few places filled by persons known to the President as trustworthy. I beg you to notice that such appointments are a part of the President's creed. He makes no pretence that he does not sometimes appoint persons near to him, and that he can trust; but his purpose is to restrict the use of patronage to the narrowest limits.

It was my fortune a few weeks ago to pass through most of the departments at Washington, and to put questions to several leading officials on the prospects of civil-service reform. The secret opinion appeared to be that civil-service reform is not likely to succeed in this country until some party comes into power that will abuse the patronage very largely. Under such a dangerous trial of our government as a large abuse of the appointing power cannot fail to bring upon us, there will be created a party Democratic or Republican, or composed of the best elements of both, and which will succeed on the cry of civil-service reform. The spoils of the wealthiest of nations are the loadstones in the mountain, making every magnetic needle on the political ship deviate from the pole. Until after the success of some party which uses patronage corruptly, we never shall reform the civil service. That is the whisper in the Washington atmosphere. The opinion of the country on the topic is, however, slowly growing more hopeful. If in the few months remaining in the present executive's term of office, he will adhere to the resonantly righteous doctrines of his letter, it will be impossible to nominate anybody with success in 1880 without a pledge from the candidate that he will see to it that the civil service is purified. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Put yourself in the most desolate room you ever saw, and stay there a night. Live a week with the poorest of the poor, instead of visiting them in spasmodic fashion. If little glimpses of their position and thin snatches of their experience overpower you, what would be the effect of living constantly where they do?

Go and stay at least one day in the poisonous attic and in the dark cellar. Sleep on the straw that is separated but by a single board from the pestilent open cellar-drains. Study life in attics where, placing your hand on your head, the upper part of the palm touches the ceiling, and where, under the roof still lower, there is a bed with nothing on it except a mattress of straw, a blanket, and one or two indescribably filthy, ragged coverlets. Five persons — a father and mother and three children — plunge themselves into that straw at night, cover themselves in January and February with those rags, and bless God for the cold, for it seals the poisonous sewer under the house. It seals other poisons of the yards and alleys; and the poor are glad when the frosts come, and are glad for good reasons. But go there in a July night; sweat under that roof. Lie there with the stable of some livery-keeper sending up its fumes under your windows. You open them for fresh air, and you admit the worst poison of the cesspool-exhalations. Your children are born there. You must stay there; they must stay there. They are

brought up on the flag-stones over which the most infamous men and women stagger to ruin. They look out from their cradles into brothels. They hear the worst of men and women curse each other. From their cradles your children grow worse, until the cherub of your baby is an imp at seven years of age, and a full-grown imp at ten or twelve. Sailors from the rough deep come into these quarters, with all their bad habits. Temptations which the city throws around the seafaring class are thrown around your children as well. And you stay in the slums yet, and bring up your children there; and they, even if they emigrate to another city, may fall into no better place.

Until personal visitation of death-traps and fever-dens in city slums shall dig an Æolus cave in which hurricanes may be produced, to smite our sluggard public legislation as to the homes of the poor, I have little hope that the ear of the United States can be caught by discussion of the diseases that spring up in the squalid quarters of great towns. Our land is too large, our population too sparse, to make even a Russian plague terrible as yet. We can flee to the mountains, or to the quiet, lonely seashores. I cannot impress even this audience on our compact seaboard with any conception of the enormity of the evil I am about to attack, unless you are accustomed to personal visitation of the slums in August. We are out of the city, most of us, in that month; but when I take up the legal documents of this Commonwealth, and turn to the report of the Board of Health

of Boston, I find that the number of complaints made as to nuisances in this city, in the heated season, are so numerous that the Board cannot attend to them adequately. Official language before me says, "In warm weather the complaints made at the office are so numerous as to prevent any thing like a systematic inspection of the yards and alleys, the officers being engaged their whole time in investigating the causes, often very complicated, of nuisances reported by citizens." (*City Document No. 67*, for 1877, p. 9.) I hold up that ghastly official confession by the Boston Board of Health as a not insignificant sign of the times.

Although a fifth of our population live in cities, there is need here of the wisdom forced by necessity on more crowded populations. Bring here George Peabody's spirit: bring here that Prince Consort whom Tennyson praises for studying model lodging-houses and all the details of homes for working-men in England: —

> "Laborious for her people and her poor,
> Voice in the rich dawn of an ampler day,
> Far-sighted summoner of war and waste
> To fruitful strifes and rivalries of peace."
>
> *Idyls of the King.*

The poet eulogizes this prince for nothing so much as for his attention to humble industrial and sanitary details which we think are unworthy of the lavender touches of fashion, and which even Christianity is at times unwilling to face. Bring

here Mayor Waterlow of London; bring here Lady Burdett-Coutts; bring here the noble women without name who have filled the most desolate wards of London with enterprises managed by an Octavia Hill and Florence Nightingale.

There are in London aristocratic men and women by scores who find it entirely consonant with their dignity to go into the slums, and attend to models for lodging-houses, and to the purification of quarters made desolate by unnecessary filth.

In New York City at this moment there is an open hall in which about one hundred and eighty models for working-men's dwelling-houses are on exhibition; but if you stand, and watch the people who come in, you will find that we have not yet reached the proper intensity of sentiment on this theme. It is true, the ministry is well represented among the visitors who are there to inspect those models; it is true, some of the most intelligent editors are there; it is true that some scheming capitalists are there, who have heard that model lodging-houses for the poor pay a high per cent of profit in London; it is true, a few philanthropists are there, a few women, a few scholars, a few literary men. But, although the interest in the examination of those models in New York has surprised that city, it is a small ripple; it is a thin rill running through a dead sea of public indifference. When complaints are so numerous in hot weather that the Board of Health cannot attend to them in Boston, perhaps as well-managed a city of its size as there is on this continent or any other,

we must admit that the little attention the public has given to the topic of death-traps and fever-dens in city slums is only the sprinkling of a few disinfectants on an open sewer.

It is the first difficulty of my theme, that you do not personally visit the poor. The way to awaken public sentiment on temperance is to promote the Christian plan of visiting the degraded. The way to secure right public sentiment as to the homes of working-men is to promote personal visitation of those homes. Here are our political fleets lying becalmed, their sails flapping against the masts, and the seas so silent under them that the very seams of the vessels separate, and drop their oakum, and suck destruction. You want a hurricane to fill the public air on the topic of temperance [applause], and on the topic of working-men's homes! How are you to hollow out your Æolus cave in which this hurricane can be nursed, except by personal visitation from house to house in the slums, and by witnessing the squalor that lies not far from the windows of the fashionable quarters of many of our cities? In New York, not long ago, some delicate women thought they would visit the worst quarters of that city; and several of them were made sick by the first contact with odors more villanous than those which assailed Falstaff's nostrils when he was covered up in the basket. I have read of maidens of Fifth Avenue who thought it a noble thing to go and visit the poor; and some of them were smitten down by fevers, and yet their visits were made in midwinter. It is not safe

to visit these fever-traps and rookeries in July. You must go fortified by a good meal, a good night's sleep, a good conscience, and absence of anxiety.

Death-traps in this Puritan city are allowed to exist in numbers so large that the Board of Health cannot attend to them in detail in the summer. Your officers admit, that, even when attention can be given to these evils, there is so much investigation needed, that the nuisances cannot be removed at once. Red tape, even after the nuisance is discovered, encircles the heap of filth. Until all the requirements of all this slow-moving machinery are met, there cannot be relief even from a nuisance large enough to produce legal complaint. Here is the difficulty; and, as the only means of awakening public sentiment concerning it, I advise personal visitation of suffocated and festering city slums.

Every great public evil should be discussed under two heads, the mischief and the remedy. There are three remedies for the overcrowding of the poor in the death-traps and rookeries of great towns: —

1. Action by the city government.

2. Philanthropic intervention by capitalists.

3. Self-help by working-men through building-societies, and mutual savings and loan associations, and the personal ownership of moderately expensive houses by men of moderate means.

All these measures will in most large towns need to be combined, as a remedy for overcrowding; but I beg leave to insist upon each antidote in detail.

1. In 1873 the city of Glasgow, under the lead of

the Lord Provost Sir James Watson, voted to expend sixpence in the pound to improve the dwelling-places of its working-classes. This was a tax of more than two cents on a dollar, but it proved to be wise economy. The registrar-general of England says that only seventeen in one thousand of any population need die in any one year, if sanitary regulations are made what they should be. But in parts of old Glasgow, before the recent improvements, the death-rate stood at seventy in one thousand. People were housed at the rate of a thousand to the acre. The municipal government, under a special act authorizing compulsory sale of bad dwellings, bought and proceeded to demolish some seven million dollars' worth of property in pestilent areas, in which commercial enterprise erected new and excellent habitations. Improvements are still in progress at Glasgow; but in 1874, 3,085 houses had been demolished, displacing an estimated population of fifteen thousand, to provide for which and for the natural growth of the city twenty-six thousand houses have been erected within the municipal boundaries. To this reform Glasgow was aroused by the discussions of the British Association for the Advancement of Social Science, which met in that city in 1860; and that association itself had felt the incitement of George Peabody and of Prince Albert and of Sir Sidney Waterlow, in the study of dwellings for the poor.

2. It is a tempting but not always an easy method of reforming the gigantic mischief I am discussing, to rely on philanthropy at large and the benefactions of great capitalists.

It has been proved in English great towns that the poorest of the working-classes must have dwellings near their work, and that therefore model lodging-houses ought to be encouraged in every way. In 1873 the council of the charity organization of the city of London formed a committee of members of Parliament and others, who met under the presidency of Sir Sidney Waterlow, then lord mayor, and held fifteen sittings, principally presided over by Lord Napier and Ettrick. They had the benefit of the counsel of most eminent practical men, some of whom had devoted their lives to the subject of the right management of crowded populations. They published a report; and two of their conclusions, containing truths on which George Peabody and Lady Burdett-Coutts and Prince Albert had previously acted, were in these words: —

"*That the mass or the poorer classes must be provided with habitations near their work.*

"That the only agency which can carry on this great work, with due regard to the moral and physical welfare of the people, is municipal government acting with enlarged powers and through the instrumentality of commercial enterprise, partly in its individual, but chiefly in its associated, form."

In view of these facts (*Report for 1874 of the British Association for the Advancement of Social Science*), it is surprising that not long ago at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Social Science some effort was made to decry model lodging-houses for the poorest of the poor in great cities, and to set up the cheap homes

that may be erected near cities, and low railway-fares, as a sufficient relief. *It is important to defend the proposition that both cheap homes around Boston and New York, and model lodging-houses in the crowded part of these cities, are needed, and would be good property.* For a dwelling with a kitchen, parlor, one bedroom, and a recess for a second bed, three dollars and seventy-five cents a week, or one hundred and seventy-five dollars a year, must be paid in ordinary times in a city. Let the best-paid working-men follow the better class of citizens into the country around Boston for dwellings. A house and a little land can be bought for one thousand dollars. The interest on that sum is only seventy dollars a year. If the man who now pays one hundred and seventy-five dollars rent a year will borrow, by the aid of his friends, one thousand dollars, he may pay seventy dollars interest, and save at least one hundred dollars a year with which to purchase a home for himself and family in the country. *But, besides the cheap homes outside, model lodging-houses are needed inside a city.* Boston is now a crescent, extending around the tip of the tongue of Massachusetts Bay from Chelsea Beach to the Milton Hills. It is not safe to go upon the supposition that all the old peninsula will be needed as a commercial exchange, and that the poorest of the poor can be crowded out of it into houses beyond a ferry, or reached only by a railway. The experience of all great cities is that the perishing poor must live near their work, and will not as a mass go beyond a ferry. They will not do this in

Boston for at least fifty or a hundred years to come, and probably not then. If this city, therefore, is not to be behind Glasgow and London, she needs model lodging-houses in her crowded and pestilent quarters. Already the death-rate of Boston has risen to twenty-seven in one thousand, higher than the present rate at Chicago, which has to reach out three miles into Lake Michigan for pure water, and is built on a swamp. New York City has a death-rate of thirty, but Philadelphia of only twenty-one.

The Peabody lodging-houses in London pay, on the average, from five to seven per cent on their cost. There is in that city very little property of the same sort that pays as high an income as this. The Waterlow lodging-houses in London pay rather more than the Peabody, and yet are not very different from them. On a gray British October afternoon, I once examined the Peabody buildings in detail, and I saw nothing abroad of American design of which I was more proud. The rooms in the Peabody model lodging-houses are about twelve by eleven feet in size and nine feet high. Each family has two of these, and one of the two is fitted up with a coal-grate, which has attached to it a hot-water boiler on one side of the fire, and an oven on the other. The second chamber is fitted up as a bedroom. A large cupboard serves as a pantry. In the attic I found the drying-room, men's baths, women's baths, and the place where, under regulations pasted up in print on the walls, washing of linen was performed by different families on different days. Here were boilers, tanks,

kettles, and a common wringing-machine. Lavatories for each flat occur near the common stairs. The buildings I visited were five stories high. I was impressed by the neatness everywhere visible, and by the good ventilation in the great halls. The Peabody lodging-houses are constructed on the idea that you cannot ventilate a great caravansary of a house unless you leave a wall open along the staircases; and so in the rear the common stairway is entirely open to the air, and the children have a play-ground on the landings. There is considerable space taken for ventilation in the rear of the buildings.

It has been the policy of Lady Burdett-Coutts, and of Mayor Waterlow, and of George Peabody, to put their houses in the most squalid quarters. The Waterlow houses are scattered through the worst slums in the city. Compared with the squalor around them, there was no more marked difference in the architecture of the houses than in the apparent moral condition of the inmates. Once clean, it is astonishing what self-respect comes to the tenant in the Peabody lodging-houses or the Waterlow mansion. It is mysterious that next to godliness is cleanliness, and that nothing physical so purifies the soul, and lifts it into self-respect and an endeavor after righteousness, as clean linen. Mr. Emerson says that he has heard a fine lady remark that she has had a satisfaction in a perfectly fitting wardrobe, that Christianity never could give.

3. After all that city governments, philanthropy and the selfish interests of capital can do to improve

the sanitary condition of crowded dwellings of the poor in cities, the problem will never be solved except by self-help among working-men.

Lodging-houses, like Peabody's and Waterlow's, are good property. But the activities of capitalists in improving city property rented to the poor are subject to hinderances that will be slow of removal. The evil of overcrowding must become enormous before capitalists will move in this matter; and philanthropists, without capitalists behind them, are weak in attempting to cure the mischief. Let us, therefore, fasten our hope upon a new scheme; at least, largely new in this country, and especially new in Massachusetts. In spite of the efforts of several of our philanthropists and the most far-seeing public men, the nation is to-day comparatively ignorant concerning the methods by which working-men in Philadelphia have built one hundred thousand homes, and paid for them. We are shamefully uninformed as to the plans by which in Great Britain millions of property have been put into buildings owned by working-men of only small incomes. I have been insisting, of late, on self-help, in opposition to state-help; and, for one, I know of nothing that sounds out more like the bugles of Lucknow afar, as a call to hope for the cause of labor, than the history in the last fifty years of the savings and loan associations which have been made the basis of ownership by working-men of their own homes.

How shall the working-man become his own landlord?

1. In some city ward or rural town, let us suppose one thousand men agree to save one thousand dollars a month until each has accumulated two hundred dollars.

2. They form themselves into an association, and, instead of hoarding their small savings, pay one dollar a month into a common fund.

3. If the money thus collected is not put at interest, it is evident that two hundred months will pass before each has saved two hundred dollars.

4. But, if the common fund be put at interest, each may save two hundred dollars in less than two hundred months.

5. At compound interest a sum of money doubles itself in about fourteen years.

6. Suppose that the society loans its money monthly, and compounds the interest: it can reduce the number of months from two hundred to about one hundred and forty-four, and the payments from two hundred dollars to one hundred and forty-four dollars.

Here is a rural town, and you cannot get money in it in large sums. Two or three hard-fisted men have money; but I am a poor laborer, and I cannot borrow a thousand dollars of Shylock, junior, and especially not of Shylock, senior. There is no capital here. Or, if I am in a city ward in an unfashionable quarter, there may be no rich man within reach. If working-men go to the banks as individuals to ask loans, they get no hearing. Twenty or thirty of us subscribe money enough to obtain from the State a

charter, and to buy account-books for a savings and loan association. We receive from the State authority to found a society, with the right to issue twenty-five hundred shares at two hundred dollars each. Any one can buy a share who will pledge himself to pay a dollar a month until his share amounts to two hundred dollars. We advertise shares as for sale on these conditions. A first meeting is held; it is largely attended out of curiosity, and we sell one thousand shares. The shareholders have the management of the association.

At the very first meeting at which the shares are sold, the first monthly instalment is paid in. There are one thousand dollars on the table. What are we going to do with it? Capital has made its appearance in our midst. Capital is here on this deal-board table in the rural town. Here are a thousand dollars made up by contributions of a dollar each. Suppose that we loan this money, and thus, by interest, add to the original fund. It is evident we shall reduce the number of months required for the execution of our enterprise. But at the next monthly meeting five hundred more shares are sold, and the second monthly instalment is paid in, and we have fifteen hundred dollars to loan.

To whom shall we loan the money? Who wants it? We want it ourselves; and we will loan it only to our own members.

7. Let the society loan to its own members only, and on proper security make advances of the whole amount a member would receive at the close of the

society, and charge the borrower interest at the legal rates.

We will do business in a business style. We will ask interest here, although we lend to ourselves.

8. The increasing value of the shares held in our society will make the shares themselves, as time progresses, better and better security for the repayment of the money.

When we come together in the monthly meeting, and look at the money on the table, we find that there are several persons who would like to bid for the privilege of borrowing it. Here a man wants to borrow four hundred dollars, another six hundred dollars; and it may be that at the fourth or fifth monthly meeting our capital has increased until we have six thousand dollars or seven thousand dollars to lend. New members have come in; we have sold three or four new sets of shares. There may be ten thousand dollars to lend. There will be a competition among borrowers. Very well; we will loan this money at six per cent, but we will charge a premium according as men bid. Our interest on the money is one source of income; but it is perfectly fair, when several members wish to have the first advance, that we should cause an auction to be held, and so decide the right of priority to the use of the money that is to be loaned. We make an advance to the highest bidder.

9. This gives a new source of income, or that from premiums; and the premiums are placed at compound interest, and draw new premiums.

10. The society may, therefore, be closed in perhaps ninety-six months instead of one hundred and forty-four, and by the payment of only ninety-six dollars a share may mature, that is, acquire a worth of two hundred dollars.

Your ninety-six dollars become two hundred dollars in ninety-six months under this scheme. Can you lend your small sums of money out in any other way so safely and profitably? The shrewd begin to see that there is business strategy in this plan of mutual savings and loans.

11. As the sums of money in possession of our treasury are not very large, there is no great danger of defalcation. The treasurer of such a society would barely have more than four thousand or six thousand dollars in his hands at any one time, and he is to give adequate bonds to cover this risk.

The law in Pennsylvania limits the amount of the money that one of these societies may issue. The law in Massachusetts, passed under the incitement of Mr. Quincy, limits the amount that may be issued in shares in such a society, and so the danger of defalcation is diminished. The treasurer of course has to give adequate bonds to cover the risk.

12. If some members must retire, let them do so on receiving a profit of six per cent on their capital.

13. The amount their capital has earned above six per cent belongs to the society, and so increases its income.

14. If members fail to make their monthly payments, let there be a small fine for the first offence,

and a heavy one for the second. These fines increase the funds of the society.

16. Real estate, after approval by the directors of the bank as security, may be taken as guaranteeing the re-payment of loans, but no single piece of real estate is to be taken as a guaranty for two loans.

16. Every shareholder should have a vote in electing officers.

The law in Pennsylvania permits every shareholder to cast as many votes as he has shares; but the practice of most of these associations in Philadelphia is to give every shareholder only one vote. They have a feeling that a man does not always grow wiser as he grows richer; and so a man with five shares should not have five votes. Their purpose is thus to avoid misrule, by allowing one vote to each member, and only one.

17. Such an association may be changed from a terminating into a permanent society, by renewal on the maturing of its shares.

18. Our society has authority to sell twenty-five hundred shares, which are worth, when mature, two hundred dollars each. We do not sell them all at once, but in series. When our first set of shares is sold, it is like a ring on a rod. After the sale of a second series, we have a second ring. This pushes on the first; and then a third pushes on the second, and so on, until all our shares are sold. The rings are pushed forward until they drop off, that is, until each set of shares has matured. You receive, as a shareholder, your proportion of the joint profits of

the society; and so your share acquires the value of two hundred dollars, although you have paid, it may be, only ninety-six dollars in monthly instalments. A calculation is made every month as to the value of each set of shares; and, as fast as the shares mature, they may be dropped in as new stock, or may be paid back to the shareholder.

Who does not remember the great number of beautiful houses of moderate cost lining the streets of Philadelphia, with marble thresholds? Thousands of these houses are owned by working-men, who have paid for them by the assistance of money saved or loaned in co-operative banks such as I have described. The standard name for these associations is building-societies, but that is a great misnomer. They are not necessarily engaged in building. They may assist workingmen to build homes of their own; but it is best to call these associations mutual savings and loan societies, the name the law gives them in Massachusetts. That awkward name, building-societies, has misled many. The money loaned by these societies may be employed in any enterprise, and not necessarily in building; and yet, in Philadelphia, about a hundred thousand homes have been erected under the encouragement of such societies.

It is most interesting to study the gatherings of the people who are interested in these co-operative savings and loan associations. The monthly meetings in Philadelphia are often held in quite inexpensive halls; and, the more inexpensive the place, the

better, for it gives the impression that the bank is not extravagant. In the line of people filing up to the clerk's desk, you see the sprucely-dressed clerk, the poor shop-girl in faded calico, the substantial head of a family, worth twenty thousand dollars, perhaps, then it may be some small capitalist, or a poor widow, or a shop-boy. They all come to pay their dollar for their monthly instalment, and get their pass-books signed. If a young couple wish to found a home of their own, and if their instalments have been regularly paid, and they have the power to pay that small amount of a dollar a month, and will mortgage the house they propose to build, why, they may borrow enough to build a home for themselves, and there is very little risk to the bank. These co-operative credit societies are ready to buy back their own shares as frequently as possible. When a share is bought back, only six per cent on the money paid in is allowed to the withdrawing stockholder. As the money has made sometimes ten per cent, the bank has considerable profit in buying back the shares; and so it is for the interest of stockholders sometimes, to let a small debt remain in this bank. If the young couple who borrowed capital keep on paying their instalments, they find that in ninety-six months every ninety-six dollars they pay may amount to two hundred dollars. If they have shares enough, very soon the mortgage on their house is sent back to them clean paper, and they have a home of their own, and they have obtained it by money advanced through these

savings and loan associations. [Applause.] No help from the State, no help from the capitalists: self-help from first to last! Here is another application of the principle of the famous German savings banks established by Schulze-Delitzsch, and doing now in Germany three hundred million dollars of business annually. This system may not be best for large sums of money, but it is the best yet invented for capital collected in small sums, and the plan is capable of indefinite expansion.

These associations are not a scheme, but a growth. The origin of mutual savings and loan societies is obscure, but they have been known in England and Germany for two generations. Let me summarize fifty years of their history by pointing to two high table-lands of fact on which I hope you will pace thoughtfully to and fro, if you are socialists.

19. The total number of mutual savings and loan societies established in England and Wales cannot be less than five thousand or six thousand. In 1872 a royal commission estimated the total assets of building-societies in Great Britain in 1870 at seventeen millions of pounds, and their annual income at eleven millions.

20. In 1870, Philadelphia reported 112,366 houses for a population of 674,022, while New York had 64,044 houses for 942,392 inhabitants. One hundred thousand independent homes in Philadelphia are mostly the result of savings and loan associations among working-men. (See in "Scribner's Monthly," February, 1876, an illustrated article by Charles

Barnard, on "A Hundred Thousand Homes." The best American authority on the topic of co-operative credit societies is Edmund Wrigley's volume, "How to Manage Building-Associations," second edition, 1876. This work is published by James K. Simon, No. 29 South Sixth Street, Philadelphia. See also "A Plea for the Incorporation of Co-operative Loan and Building Societies," by Josiah Quincy, Boston, Wright & Potter, 1875.)

Consider what the moral effect of the permeation of the working-classes by co-operative savings and loan associations must be! How economy and self-help in every form are inspirited! Instead of dozing over the hope of aid from political money, and looking toward spoliation and an irredeemable paper currency, and forced loans, and the oratory of demagogues for communistic or socialistic support, how securely are the working-man and his wife, under the lead of experience, brought to look for assistance to self-help, and not to state-help! They are pointed to the ancient and safe road to wealth through industry and economy. They respect themselves. They are not socialistic leeches on any part of the body politic. They acquire habits which are the glory of society and the strength of the State. They build homes of their own, and what they build they will defend. Give me a world encircled with self-help among working-men, give me firesides numerous enough to be in sight of each other on a line extending once around the earth, and made bright by family virtues such as self-help inspires, and I will

show you a globe encircled in a ring of fire that will burn off the planet all the ulcerous growths of communistic and socialistic disease. [Applause.]

VII.

HIGH SCHOOLS AND A UNITED CITIZENSHIP.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 24.

We grant no dukedoms to the few,
  We hold like rights and shall;
Equal on Sunday in the pew,
  On Monday in the mall.
For what avail the plough or sail,
Or land or life, if freedom fail?

The noble craftsmen we promote,
  Disown the knave and fool:
Each honest man shall have his vote,
  Each child shall have his school.

EMERSON: *Boston Hymn.*

That there should one man die ignorant who had the capacity for knowledge, — this I call a tragedy, were it to happen more than twenty times in the minute, as by some computations it does. — CARLYLE: *Sartor Resartus.*

VII.

HIGH SCHOOLS AND A UNITED CITIZENSHIP.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

If secularism displaces the Bible in schools, it will take the place of it there. If Romanism displaces the Bible in schools, it will occupy the place of it. If the two, in a political coalition, displace it, they will together share the place of it. Sectarian secularism or the Bible in schools — which? Romanism or the Bible in schools — which? These are the four distinct alternatives which lie capsulate in the one topic of the Bible in schools. The whole subject is in slatternly confusion until these details are separated from each other, and studied analytically. *The place of the Bible in schools will be occupied by the power which displaces it. That which displaces and takes the place of the Bible in schools will have an important place.*

Romanism clamors for the exclusion of the customary devotional exercises from our common schools; and the question on that side of the subject is whether the Romish devotional exercises, which

would displace and take the place of the others if Romanists had their way, would be better for our schools and the nation than the present unsectarian exercises. On the other side of the subject, the question is whether dogmatic atheism, a thorough-going sect now, although a small one, would be better, with its pale negations, its utterly monstrous silences, and its unscientific spirit, than the present Christian atmosphere of our schools, as a climate in which to train the youth of the land.

My political philosophy I have learned from Edmund Burke. I am not here to defend any paper constitution or fine-spun theory as to the relations of Church and State. The question concerning the Bible in the schools is to be treated as one of expediency, and decided by the light of experience. What would be the effects of giving Romanism or secularism the place in our schools which the spirit of unsectarian Christianity has now? Our first duty on this theme is to consult history and the laws of the self-preservation of free nations.

It is an interesting circumstance, that Germany, under the lead of infidelity, once drove the Bible from its schools, but has since restored it. The most learned land on the globe, incisively divided between Catholic and Protestant, infidel and believer, scouts the idea that the Bible is to be excluded from the common schools. "I inquired of all classes of teachers," says Professor Stowe (*Report on Elementary Instruction in Europe*), "and men of every grade of religious faith, instructors in common schools, high

schools, and schools of art, of professors in colleges, universities, and professional seminaries, in cities and in the country, in places where there was a uniformity, and in places where there was a diversity of creeds; and I never found but one reply, and that was, that to leave the moral faculty uninstructed was to leave the most important part of the human mind undeveloped, and to strip education of almost every thing that can make it valuable. Every teacher whom I consulted repelled with indignation the idea that moral instruction is not proper for schools, and spurned with contempt the allegation that the Bible cannot be introduced into common schools without encouraging a sectarian bias in the matter of teaching." Horace Mann gives similar testimony. But the sentiments which Professor Stowe describes are the result of a re-action itself produced by a battle on this very topic of the Bible in schools, and fought for eighty years on both sides with the keenest Damascus blades. The question of the relations of the Bible to national education is not a novel one. America will not enter upon its discussion without the light of historical precedents. These are not so far from being parallels to its own circumstances as to be without profound significance.

Rousseau's "Emile" did not begin the discussion of the exclusion of the Bible from schools: his book was rather the tinkle of the bell which caused the precipitation upon this question of the avalanche of infidelity that had accumulated on the Continent during the literary ascendency of Voltaire, and the

reign of Frederick the Great. Johann Bernhard Basedow, the celebrated German writer on education, from whom sprang the famous Basedow institutions, which were the fashion in Germany from 1776 to about 1800, derived his educational principles largely from Rousseau. For the publication of Basedow's principal work on education, the Empress of Russia, Catherine II., contributed a thousand crowns, and the King of Denmark nine hundred. Basedow was the universal favorite. In 1774 he opened at Dessau a Philanthropical Institute to test the practical worth of his ideas. Undoubtedly the old pedantic stiffness of the German schools was largely diminished by Basedow's movement. He attacked many real abuses in the schools, and effected on many points a needful transition to the state the German primary educational institutions now occupy. But time showed which of his principles were sound, and which unsound. The special success of his treatise on education had arisen from its indifferent tone as to religion.

Professor Tholuck of Halle was accustomed to put Professor Hagenbach's work on German Rationalism, its Rise, Progress, and Decline, first on the list of authorities as to its themes. A passage in this scholarly history deserves sharp attention from any who think the influence of the Bible in schools is small, or that the effect of its absence could not be great. A prime object with Basedow was to exclude all positive religious instruction, and to build chiefly upon the conception of the dignity of the human

soul. Such a scheme was very attractive to many persons. Basedow was not long without eager followers, of whom Saltzmann and Campe, students of his at Dessau, were the most noted. Similar institutes sprang up elsewhere, and the principles adopted by Basedow were grafted upon the domestic training of children. "Immediate changes," says the historian, as if recording a lesson from the present hour in America, "were perceived. In place of the old pedantic stiffness there came a jocose levity; and, instead of religious instruction as given heretofore, there ensued a general effort to develop as from within the capacities of the soul. A universal superficiality of knowledge followed, a want of consistency in moral and religious training, and a premature scepticism among youth. The meagreness of Basedow's scheme proved its bane, and prepared the way for the conviction that a balanced educational science must rest on a positive Christian foundation."

This page of German history is the more worthy of heed, because the re-action took place in spite of many acknowledged merits in Basedow's scheme. It took place in spite of the vehement advocacy of that scheme by Saltzmann and Campe. It took place in spite of the influences of German rationalism in moulding the German educational system.

Rousseau, Basedow, Saltzmann, and Campe advocated much that was adopted by Pestalozzi, who has been called the schoolmaster of the human race. But their principle of the exclusion of a Christian

basis from common schools, Pestalozzi was far from adopting. This greatest of educational reformers died, as you remember, in 1826. *He encouraged in the most emphatic manner youthful acquaintance with the Bible.* He regarded the history contained in the Gospels as an indispensable ingredient in the education of every young mind. "I consider," he wrote in 1820, in a report to the public, "a thorough knowledge of the scriptural histories, and especially of the life, sufferings, and death of Jesus Christ, and the study of the sublimest passages of the Bible with a childlike, believing spirit, the beginning and essence of what is necessary for religious instruction; and then above all things a fatherly care to make the children feel the worth of prayer offered in faith." Pestalozzi's own theological sentiments were not what are known as orthodox. It is extremely unsafe to say that the present position of Germany as to the Bible in schools arises from the union in Germany of the Church with the State. The Church was connected with the State in Basedow's time as well as in Pestalozzi's. Speculation was as free in the time of the latter as in that of the former. Neither can it be said that this history exhibits only a temporary swirl of opinion. It extends over a period of eighty extraordinary years. Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Richter, and Goethe are the names that illuminate the epoch. In no other period has German thought been so searching and free. But the result of eighty years of discussion has fixed the theory and practice of Germany in favor of a Christian basis in schools.

The history of the acutest educational discussions of the last eighty years asks America not to go back from Pestalozzi to Basedow. [Applause.]

When the National Assembly at the head of the French Revolution wished to extirpate Christianity in France, they adopted a system secularizing education in the primary schools. The majestic eloquence of Edmund Burke was stirred against this scheme. "These enthusiasts," he wrote, "do not scruple to own their opinion that a state can subsist without any religion better than with one; and that they are able to supply the place of any good which may be in it by a project of their own, namely, by a sort of education that they have imagined, founded in a knowledge of the physical wants of men; progressively carried to an enlightened self-interest, which, when well understood, they tell us, will identify with an interest more enlarged and public. The scheme of this education has long been known. Of late they distinguish it, as they have got an entire new nomenclature of technical terms, by the name of a *civic education*." It is stated on high authority, that, when the French Revolution was over, a committee, sent to Paris by one of the religious societies of London, to ascertain the moral condition of the people, searched four days in all the bookstores and print-shops of the city, before they could find a single copy of the Bible.

So much for German history; but you think that in America we have a constitution which ignores religion. If you please, the question concerning the

Bible in schools is a matter to be decided under State constitutions, and not under the Federal law; and there are very few State Constitutions which are not so drawn as to justify literally the opinion of Kent and Story and Webster that Christianity is a part of the common law under our State governments. Indeed, Webster went so far as to say that it is a part of the common law which the Supreme Court of the United States is bound to respect in cases to be decided exclusively under Federal enactments.

1. General, tolerant Christianity is in the United States a part of the common law; but State aid to religious organizations is fundamentally contrary to the spirit of American institutions.

We all remember how Thomas Jefferson came home from France full of indignation that there had not been incorporated into our Constitution, as it then stood, a provision separating Church and State. We remember the aid he gave to the movement by which the great words, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," were made the first amendment of our national organic law. It is important, however, to notice that though the Congress is prohibited by the National Constitution from making laws concerning establishments of religion, the States are not. Education is a matter left to the regulation of the individual States. If any State chooses not to have a common-school system, the general government cannot interfere. In proving,

therefore, that in the United States general tolerant Christianity is a part of the common law, it is pertinent to quote, when the question relates to the connection of the common law with the common schools, the decisions of State judicial authorities. [See Webster's argument in the Girard College case; and also Vidal *et al. vs.* Girard's executors, 2 Howard's Reports, 198. Compare the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* Kneeland, 20 Pickering, 206; and also that of Lindenmuller *vs.* the People, 33 Barbour's Supreme Court Reports, New York, 548.]

The National Government appoints days of fasting and prayer. It employs in its judiciaries and in the induction of officers to their responsibilities a system of Christian oaths. It has at different times granted subsidies to various religious denominations for the support of missionaries to teach the Christian religion among the Indian tribes. But the provisions of State law containing distinctively Christian principles are innumerable. Most of our legislatures exempt the family Bible from execution; provide that each apprentice shall be supplied with one; require that a Bible shall be in the hands of every inmate of a jail, penitentiary, and reformatory institution; that the halls of legislation and courts shall be supplied with copies of the Bible; appoint Christian chaplains in the public service; secure the observance of the Christian sabbath, and punish blasphemy. All this is at the public expense. The language of the State Constitutions needs no exemplification, although possibly the grand passage in

the Massachusetts Constitution should be mentioned as the best illustration.

It is sometimes said, however, that there is in the National Constitution nothing to indicate that our government has embedded within it any distinctively Christian principles. It is true that the general Constitution does not refer to religion except to guarantee its freedom, and prohibit an establishment of it. The Declaration of Independence only recognizes the existence of a Creator, and the derivation from him of human rights. But in the great ordinance of 1787, made for the Territories north-west of the Ohio, there is something explicit. This ordinance has acquired great fame in the discussions concerning slavery. It stands upon a height of historic dignity, surpassed by none of the early acts of the General Government. In this great State paper a compact was entered into between the thirteen original States and the people of the territory north-west of the Ohio. The articles of compact were to remain "forever unalterable, unless by common consent." The preamble declares the object of the articles of the compact to be the "extending the fundamental principles of *civil and religious liberty*, which form the *basis* whereon those republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; to fix and establish those principles as *the basis* of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in said territory." And the third article, which re-appears in equivalent language in the Constitutions of all the States of the North-west, is in

these most significant words: "*Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.*"

That is the language of no sect, political or religious, and of no individual theorist, but of solemn, national, fundamental American law.

There is a French Revolution republicanism. There is an American republicanism. The basis of the one is French philosophy. The basis of the other, as declared by the ordinance of 1787, is Christian ethics. Whoever does not perceive this vital distinction does not understand American history. There is a red republicanism. There is an American republicanism. We must insist on this distinction, or we are ruined. It is time to proclaim this distinction in the face of European theories and of European immigration; and to proclaim also that, in America, American ideas must prevail. [Applause.]

The ordinance of 1787 contains the principle on which the question as to the Bible in schools is to be settled. It is the necessity of morality to good government and the happiness of mankind. *It is the right of self-preservation which justifies state recognition of religion.* This is the historic ground. This is the philosophical ground. This is the safe ground. This is the American ground. In regard to the educational system which is a political necessity in a republic, these principles of the ordinance of 1787 are the height on which American voters must plant the national standard. [Applause.]

2. The Romish demand is not for the secularization of common schools, but for state sectarian educational organizations and for the abolition of the present unsectarian common-school system. Extraordinary importance attaches to the production in the public mind of a clear conviction of the truth of this proposition. The evidence supporting it, however, is overwhelming, and is every day accumulating. This proposition itself, or its equivalent, has several times been made a part of a papal syllabus. Of this the language of Romish ecclesiastics and Catholic newspapers is but the echo.

3. The Romanists' objection that the common schools are godless would be, as they themselves assert, increased in emphasis by the exclusion of the Bible from the schools; and such exclusion would, therefore, while satisfactory to a small minority of infidels and atheists, only add vigor to the dangerous attempts of the Catholic party to subvert the common-school system.

4. In regard to the demand for state sectarian educational organizations, the true policy is to resist their formation at all hazards.

The opening of state sectarian schools is to be resisted, in the first place, because it would give no sufficient assurance of a good plain education for all the children of the state. It would undermine the efficiency of our secular instruction in schools. The division of public funds for educational purposes among the numberless religious sects of the country would destroy the efficiency of the school system, and

leave no adequate provision for that public intelligence which is necessary to the permanence of republican institutions.

State sectarian institutions for education are to be resisted, in the second place, because they would convert the appliances of education into means of proselytizing, intensify religious clannishness, and give all education, both secular and religious, a sectarian bias from the first.

They are to be resisted, in the third place, because the state cannot deny to others what it grants to Catholics, and must, therefore, if it aids the latter on the ground of religious scruple, aid infidel and atheistic sects on the same ground, and thus find itself the ally of public immorality.

They are to be resisted, in the last place, because they would include many of the causes of the historic evils of the connection of Church and State.

5. Voluntary religious effort on the part of religious organizations, greatly as its stimulation is to be desired, is too much divided against itself, too fluctuating, and too little possessed of access to the unchurched and of financial strength, to be trusted, taken alone, with the tremendous interest of the state in the maintenance of public morality. If the churches were to give the only Christian instruction, all the religious instruction children would receive would have a sectarian bias from the first, and the evils of sectarianism would thus be greatly increased.

In America, in spite of all theories as to the freedom of the individual, a certain amount of secular

instruction is in several States enforced by law. Disciples of the principle of *laissez-faire* in government are not wanting, who would have us abandon even this amount of divergence from that doctrine, and trust all moral education to voluntary effort. The voice of history does not give this advice.

The law of supply and demand, which is the central principle of the disciples of the system of *laissez-faire* in government, does not apply to education. The greater the need of this in a population, the less the demand for it. But this is true in a still higher degree of morality. The more it is needed, the less it is demanded. These are the laws of human nature, to which some of the disciples of Bentham and Mill have yet to adjust portions of their theories.

We are, and are to be, a nation of great cities. It is a doubtful future that lies before democracy if the moral education of the perishing and dangerous classes in our chief centres of population is to be left solely to the operation of the law of supply and demand. Estimate the corruption of the judiciary in the city of New York. Examine the corruption of State legislatures. Study the moral disease circulating out of sight below the periodical catastrophes in trade. Suppose the system of *laissez-faire* fully applied to our common schools; all education completely secularized; the principle of voluntary effort, the sole reliance of the nation for that public morality which is a political necessity: who believes that in fifty years our great cities, within their own borders at least, would not bring democracy itself

into jeopardy? In New York City it is already in jeopardy; I had almost said, in ruin.

I beg every one's pardon; but what statesman, what civilian, who is a safe adviser in great crises of complicated affairs, expects to do any thing so contrary to the lessons of experience, so puerile, so foolish, as to trust the interests of this nation in the maintenance of public morality wholly to the operation of any thing so fluctuating, so much divided against itself, so little possessed of financial strength and of access to the perishing and dangerous classes, as voluntary religious effort? I do not forget the successes that the voluntary principle has achieved for the Church in America. But the great power of that principle has been in the fact that it operated in the midst of a population trained in the common schools, not merely in secular education, but in morality and in many religious respects as well. *Secularize education completely, and throw the entire burden of maintaining public morality upon voluntary effort, and the principle would be put upon trial in circumstances wholly new.* A most insignificant fraction of time is devoted, even by active Christians, to moral and religious labor. But the active Christians of a state are in numbers a most insignificant fraction of its population.

6. In regard to the Bible in schools, the true policy, therefore, is to adhere to the established Christian principles of American common law. These are, as fully implied in the language of the nation in the ordinance of 1787: —

First, That "religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary to good government," and may therefore be secured through the common schools under the right of the state to establish the indispensable foundations of its own permanence.

Second, That the exclusion of a Christian basis from schools would jeopardize public morality.

7. As to the political rights of conscience, the duty of the state to exercise religious toleration is limited by its right of self-preservation.

On the topic of the rights of conscience, it is endlessly important to insist on five distinctions if we would attain clear ideas: —

(1) A distinction between matters in respect to which general society and the individual have a common interest at stake, and those in which the individual only has an interest. In the former, government may interfere; in the latter, not.

(2) A distinction between the legal rights of conscience, and the theoretical rights. The former only are capable of such definition as can make them the basis of political action.

(3) A distinction between the teaching of religion by the state, and the recognition of religion by the state.

(4) A distinction between the relations of religion to the state, and its relations to the individual conscience. To the state, religion is a means: to the individual conscience, it is an end.

(5) A distinction between the national conscience and the individual conscience.

The national authority of the individual conscience is not an American doctrine. [Applause.]

8. In Prussia, Holland, Austria, and Canada, the problem of introducing a Christian unsectarian basis into schools in a manner satisfactory to conflicting sects has been solved. The solution has been found in a system of national education, affording *combined* literary and moral, and *separate* religious instruction, to children of all Christian persuasions, as far as possible, in the same schools. Apartments are afforded to the children of all the national schools for receiving, outside of the hours of united literary instruction, such separate religious instruction as their parents approve. No attempt is made to interfere with the peculiar tenets of any description of pupils. This solution cannot be copied literally in America; but it hints at methods by which experiment may find a better solution consistent with American ideas.

There are two points on which, I think, American sentiment is absolutely clear. The first is that the people have been wise, as at New Haven, for example, in retaining their customary brief unsectarian devotional exercises in schools. The other is that local option as to the Bible in schools is not to be overridden. Suppose that the town of Oberlin in Ohio wishes to have the Bible taught in its schools; suppose, also, that the State of Ohio, through the vote of two or three of its large cities, in the hands of politicians of the third and fourth rank, should wish to exclude the Bible. Have they the right to ride rough-shod over Oberlin? When a community wishes

to use the Bible in their schools, shall politicians say that they shall not? For one, and as the very least that can be safely claimed, I defend local option as to the use of the Bible in schools. If you turn upon me, and say there may be local option against the Bible in certain communities, I reply that the schools in such portions of our population will so rapidly deteriorate that parents will not patronize them, and the evil will be cured by the rivalry of better communities and by emigration. [Applause.]

Let us send forth from Massachusetts no uncertain advocacy of American educational ideas. Let us proclaim that in America American ideas must prevail, the educational as well as the political, for the two are inseparable. Let us adhere to the educational provisions of the Constitution of Massachusetts. Let us resist all attack on the grand historic bulwarks of the educational principles of the ordinance of 1787, as gnarled Nahant yonder resists the sea. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

The most alluring swindle that a penny-wise-and-pound-foolish public economy ever forced upon the masses is a cheap school-teacher. The sons of the rich, whether aided by public law or not, will have good teachers. The sons of the poor, if a false economy is practised as to common and high schools, obtain only third and fourth rate instructors. Penuriousness as to public schools widens the chasm between rich and poor. A system providing one

kind of education for the rich and another for the poor would delight the black angels, because it would lead to the formation in the United States of an ignorant class, and of a wide hereditary distinction between the wealthy and the indigent. Every advocate of republican institutions will be forced by political necessity, as well as by philanthropy, to defend the educational rights of the children of the poor.

In pleading for the poor, I do not attack the rich, but defend rather the interests of wealth, by defending the education of the masses, who may learn to steal property through majorities at the ballot-boxes, or to burn it in riot, unless they are educated. If there are any limp, soft aristocrats who think they should not be taxed for high schools when they send no children to them, I beg leave to say that I am speaking for the protection of such aristocrats, when I defend an educational system that opens up the faculties of the child of the poor man until he knows what he can do in the world, and so does not, without reason, accept a position below his ability. It is the glory of American political principles, that they bring into activity in society a rivalry between the children of the poor and those of the rich, and give the former a chance to aid the latter by keeping them up to the mark of their own capacity. The children of the rich may easily drop into the diseases of luxury unless they are mercilessly held up to their work by the danger of competition. A healthful collision of interests occurs in the great professions when the

question arises, which shall succeed the better, a Daniel Webster, inured to hardship from the first on the frontier, or the son of a millionnaire in the city, who has not been taught to work physically or mentally. The question is whether Henry Clay, as the mill-boy of the Slashes, if he have fair opportunities in the common and high school, may not so awaken his soul as to perceive what he can do for the nation. It is no slight public benefit when a Horace Greeley, an Edison, or an Abraham Lincoln, born far down in the ranks of social merit, as the aristocrats say, is aroused by the American common-school system, and taught that he can teach his age. The physicians assure us that the best brains in public life usually come out of the country. Six generations in a city often produce such physical deterioration in a family that its public power is lost. Certain it is, that in American statesmanship, and I had almost said in American authorship and science, the more prominent names are of persons first awakened by the American common-school system, and not dandled in the lap of languid luxury until they had lost that love of exertion which is the unfailing characteristic of high capacity. I would have no child lifted above competition, and lulled in the lap of ease until he loses the sense of what he can do. I would have no child placed too low for competition, and benumbed in the caverns of poverty among the icy mosses, until he loses the desire to climb. I do a service both to those who slumber in the lap of luxury, and to those who lie asleep in the benumbing cold of poverty,

when I melt out the ice from the caves of want, and send those who are benumbed by it into the sunnier portions of society to awaken the sleepers there by their competition. [Applause.]

How can high schools be improved?

1. High schools should have practical courses of study, and prepare pupils for technical and industrial schools of the upper grades, as well as for colleges.

2. As a school can rise no higher in merit than its teachers, a most thorough examination of the latter should be secured, so that when the people's money is spent for instruction an adequate return may be made certain.

3. County superintendents of instruction, to act in connection with the town school-committees, should be appointed in Massachusetts, as they have been in several other States, with power to secure for all teachers in public schools thorough examinations, and for all public schools a trained professional oversight, not influenced by personal, political, or local favoritism.

4. Option should not be given to local school-committees to pare down appropriation of funds for school purposes to such a degree that the demands of the State laws as to education cannot be executed.

5. Normal schools, as a department for the teaching of teachers, should be kept in close connection with high schools.

The chasm between rich and poor should not be widened by penuriousness as to public-school teachers' salaries. [Applause.]

Under the gilded dome beneath which the General Court of Massachusetts sits, there is at this moment not a little whispering in favor of the plan of allowing the local school-committees option to reduce their appropriation for school purposes, according to their own judgment. If this power were given to the local school-committees, no doubt it would often be impossible to execute the State regulations concerning high schools. The most insidious attack on the high schools is made in many of our States by the clamor for option on the part of a few sinecure politicians in our city governments, to determine the amount that shall be given to the promotion of the interests of education in their cities. Local politicians can easily starve high schools, or otherwise so mismanage them as to make them useless; but the fault is in the politicians and not in the schools. In matters of education, experience shows that it is not safe to leave a town political committee without supervision by a state or county board, not influenced by any local, political, social, or personal favoritism.

How shall I properly excoriate the spoliation of the pinched earnings of young women, who, as teachers in primary schools, have only five hundred or six hundred dollars a year for labor in all weathers, in a kind of effort that often undermines the health, and is carried on, in many cases, while a father and mother may be relying upon the arm of the young woman for support? In 1878, New York City, under the lead of narrow-minded ward-politicians, many of whom held sinecure places at fat salaries, undertook

to do a little extra stealing. Against the protests of Bryant and Field, and scores of the best friends of education, they reduced by one hundred and fifty thousand dollars the pay of school-teachers. They did not dare, however, to reduce at all the pay of some twelve hundred primary-school teachers, that is, of the young ladies who, while laboring in one of the most difficult and important departments, receive only some six hundred to eight hundred dollars a year. But on this thin soil of New England, and in sight of Boston, there is in progress, I have heard, a paring-down of these last lowest salaries, a kind of penuriousness that ought to set the very soil on fire [applause], especially where it lies above the graves of our fathers, one of whose prayers was that the love of good learning might not be buried with them. I hold that after trial the meritorious teacher should have the maximum grade of salary. If salaries are penurious, you will send the children of the rich into good private schools, and leave the poor to be instructed by fifth-rate teachers. If salaries are at the mercy of the ward-politicians, the best talent will not be attracted into the teacher's profession. Custom and law should insist upon a high and honorable dealing in these matters. You may not give to the new teacher the highest salary at once; but there should be a maximum for each position, and, when the teacher has shown merit, that grade of salary should be given and continued.

Why should high schools be maintained?

Before I venture into the contest concerning the

abolition of high schools, I beg leave to put to this audience a single question, on the answer to which may turn the safety of our American liberties in time to come. You have reason to be convinced that I am no partisan, and that I am not seeking office, and that I speak here with no bitter prejudices against any sect in Church or State. But my question is, how it happens that in the last two or three years there has grown up in the United States an opposition to our high schools, and that from Maine to Georgia, and from the Penobscot to the Sacramento, the same arguments are used, the same insinuations thrust into the public prints, the same tentative efforts made in our State legislatures. The perfect unity in the attack made on the high schools proves that somewhere and somehow there is a generalship behind this movement. It is a generalship that can outgeneral average American editors. It can outgeneral average American politicians. It is a power behind the newspapers, and behind the caucus. It operates against the whole natural drift of American ideas. What is this power, secret, omnipresent, deadly? The attack which it makes uses the same arguments, and appeals to the same subtle prejudices, from side to side and end to end of the land, and must have a generalship somewhere. My question is, Where?

In the city of Rochester lately a public election uncovered the very innermost fibres of the opposition to the high schools in that town. The attack derived its origin and chief force from the Romish priesthood. A governor of New York, Robinson,

employed by his political party, appeared to be employed also by some power behind the party. He has twice in grave public messages attacked the high schools in my native Commonwealth. In the Romish vote of various cities, full light has been turned on the origin of the New York State crusade against the high schools; and, indeed, nobody in New York City wanted light turned on. The case was a clear one at the mouth of the Hudson, and I suppose it is a clear one at the mouth of the Charles and the Mystic. The bishop of an Italian priesthood lived at Rochester; and out of his study, and others like it on Manhattan Island, went forth that influence, which, over the whole face of the broad territory of New York, put perfect unanimity into the attack on high schools.

There is power in an Italian priesthood and Jesuit teachers to do immense good, as well as evil. If I mistake not, there is some hope for the improvement of the Romish Church through a defeat of it in the United States in its attack on the American common schools. Because I trust a few Romish priests, who are trying to model their sectarian schools after the plan of the best American high schools; because I wish old Romanism, or rather old Catholicism without Romanism, to succeed; and because I believe the best way of helping Romanism out of its slough is to cause its overwhelming defeat on the bulwark of American common schools, — I propose to expose mercilessly its attack on our system. [Applause.] If Romanists here are offended, I be-

lieve that they will be found to be members of an Italian priesthood, and not of the Catholic laity, on whom I make no attack. [Applause.]

We have but just passed through a civil war to settle the relation of two heterogeneous elements of our population, and barred the gates of the East against the irruption of strife over the African, when the gates of the West open, and through them we already behold a too probable irruption of strife over the Chinese. The German and French infidels are here; and, with the trumpets of the cheap press, and the sounding-board of the perishing and dangerous classes in our great cities, make sad music. Their following is small, but motley and noisy; and, with the German and French population, not politically unimportant. The Jews are a very considerable body. Spiritualism claims that it has an adherence of millions. But all these differences fade in importance compared with the division of the population between the Protestant and Roman Catholic faith. I have never been one of those who fear the ultimate supremacy of Romish influence in the religious or political interests of this nation; but I confess that I have found an examination of the most recent statistics a little startling. There are governmental returns showing that the Romish population of the United States doubles every ten years.

If the Roman Catholic population doubles every ten years, for the next fifty years, as it has for the last forty, important, perhaps great events, must result. It is often asserted by Romish propagandists that the

Catholic Church numbers one-third of the American population; and that if its membership shall increase for the next thirty years as it has for the thirty years past, in 1900 Rome will have a majority, and be bound to take this country and keep it.

It is important to notice that there is an immense concentration of Roman Catholic power in the city of New York, and in the great towns of the Mississippi Valley. The Brooklyn and New York Catholic cathedrals, which cost millions of dollars, and whose compeers dot most of our large cities, are insignificant facts compared with the circumstances that in New York City, and in some of the cities of the West, Catholics fill nearly every municipal office. In New York, the sheriff, register, comptroller, city chamberlain, corporation counsel, commissioner, president of the water-board, president of the board of aldermen, president of the board of councilmen, clerk of the common council, clerk of the board of supervisors, five justices of the courts of record, all of the civil justices, all but two of the police justices, all of the police-court clerks, three out of four of the coroners, two members of Congress, three out of five of State senators, eighteen out of twenty members of assembly, fourteen out of nineteen of the common council, and eighteen of the supervisors, were very lately all said to be Roman Catholics. [CLARK, Rev. RUFUS W.: *The Question of the Hour: The Bible and the School Fund.* 1870, p. 92.] A conflict impends over the common-school system and the whole great and grave theme of national education.

When I was in Wittenberg in Germany, where Luther nailed up his theses against the church-door, I saw there in bronze, in raised letters, the propositions he defended in the first Protestant Reformation. Under universal suffrage there is, or will be, needed, a second Protestant reformation to rescue the school, as the first rescued the Bible. Face to face with an Italian priesthood, never more audacious than to-day, and never more dangerous in any country than here, I beg leave to nail up on the door of this Boston audience-hall certain American propositions as to schools for the people; and I should be grieved if the hammer I use in such work should seem to have a craven and apologetic sound.

1. The education of poor children is the Plymouth Rock of American liberty. [Applause.]

2. No more mischievous lie is in public circulation than the assertion that the high schools are maintained by the poor man's money. The poor man pays only a poll-tax. The rich support the high schools.

3. The education of poor children until they show of what they are capable is the only measure that can give the State the full strength of its citizens.

4. Children are not educated to this degree in the common schools, but the abler of them may, in the high schools, awaken to a consciousness of their own capacities. [Applause.]

5. So far from its being an objection to high schools, that they teach the poor and ignorant to be dissatisfied with their condition, the merit of high

schools is that they awaken, in poor children who have capacity, a dissatisfaction with their condition and an omnipresent spirit of aspiration and self-help. [Applause.]

6. Educated only in the rudiments taught in the common schools, the mass of poor children, even when of equal natural ability with the sons of the rich, are not likely to obtain an equipment that will enable them to complete with rich men's children, educated well.

7. The abolition of the high schools open to the poor tends, therefore, to widen the chasm between the children of rich and poor, and to make of the latter an inferior class.

8. American institutions cannot bear the existence of permanent and hereditary class distinctions, based merely on birth and wealth.

9. The high schools are needed as much as military, naval, and agricultural schools. The latter are supported at the public expense, although only a few attend them. The benefit they confer on the whole people is the justification of the tax on the whole people for their support.

10. The high schools are the nursery of that united citizenship which is essential to the perpetuity of American institutions.

11. The high schools are the indispensable nursery of teachers for the public common schools.

12. They are the nursery of industrial schools and of the inventors who spring from the ranks of labor.

13. They are the nursery of colleges, and of the lawyers, physicians, and preachers which the colleges help to prepare for the service of the people.

14. Secondary instruction gives civilization the benefit of its best leadership. It is a silver link between the iron link of primary and the golden link of liberal education, and gives the best public men a connection closer than they would otherwise have with the masses, and gives the masses a confidence they would not, in America, otherwise attain in their best-educated public men.

15. High schools are opposed by and to sectarians who wish to have all instruction in their own hands, and who attack the common schools, which are the corner-stone of American civilization.

16. The assumption that the children of atheist parents have such rights, that the public-school system of the United States should be made atheistic, will never be tolerated by the American people. [Applause.]

17. The assumption that an Italian priesthood are representatives of Romish children, and as a foreign power can make a treaty with our Government, and settle all difficulties by dividing the school fund and abolishing the high schools, will never succeed in the United States. [Applause.]

Massachusetts has no hope, except in making herself the teacher of America. Like little Attica in Greece, she has a thin, sterile soil. It is worth little except to build factories and schoolhouses on. The only statue which you can carve here that will

command ultimate respect on the Pacific coast and on the Father of Waters, the only figure you can erect that will command ultimate respect on the Atlantic coast itself, is represented by the colossal emblematic form yonder at the edge of the sea, with its feet on a fragment of the Rock which received to America the feet of our forefathers. The ages will respect no state which is not made up, as the Plymouth Monument is, of education, law, morality, freedom, presided over by a genius having in its arms the volume of religious instruction, of political sanity, of patriotism, of pure homes, of self-help, and pointing upward perpetually, not to a priesthood, not to the dome of St. Peter's, but to the unobscured celestial constellations, with whose motions our political and educational movements must harmonize if they are not to end in chaos. [Applause.]

VIII.

TRAMPS, SUNDAY LAWS, AND THE POOR.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 3.

The toil-worn cotter from his labor goes,
This night his weekly moil is at an end;
Collects his spades, his mattocks, and his hoes,
Hoping the morn in ease and rest to spend. . . .
The sire turns o'er, with patriarchal grace,
The big hall Bible, once his father's pride. . . .
He wales a portion with judicious care,
And "Let us worship God!" he says, with solemn air. . . .
From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs.

BURNS: *The Cotter's Saturday Night.*

Think of God oftener than you breathe. — EPICTETUS.

VIII.

TRAMPS, SUNDAY LAWS, AND THE POOR.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

A MAN or a bale of goods can be carried from San Francisco to Canton as cheaply as from San Francisco to Omaha. The geographical nearness of the United States to China may ultimately make our trade with the Celestial Empire larger than that of the British Islands. One of the great events of the thirteenth century was the military invasion of the West by China. One of the great events of the twentieth century appears likely to be the commercial invasion of China by the West.

As Homer said concerning the history recorded in the Iliad, where contests were sometimes successful and sometimes disastrous, so we may affirm concerning the great cause of the commercial, political, and religious regeneration of Asia, that in both success and disaster the plans of the gods are advancing. In the success of Great Britain in obtaining a scientific barrier in the Himalayas, and in the defeat in the United States of an unconstitutional bill insulting

China, we have signs of the times pointing to increased confidence in the commercial relations between Great Britain and the United States on the one hand and the no longer distant East on the other. One-third of the human family as some say, one-fourth as others say, one-fifth as all say, live in the Chinese Empire.

Let us thank God that the crack of the hoodlum's lash, under which an American House of Representatives danced for a day and an hour, and an American Senate bowed its haughty head, has not had force enough to cause in an American Executive the movement of an eyelash. [Applause.] The President of the country has saved us from dishonor. He has saved us, also, from striking a perhaps suicidal blow at great commercial interests. I watch with eagerness the gradual moulding of the candlestick called commercial success in our relations with China; for I believe that on that candlestick is to stand, by and by, the fire containing the light of the religious and the political regeneration of an empire that was old when the Greeks were young.

There was a day in the thirteenth century when the Chinese ensign glassed itself in the Euxine, and at the same moment in the Yellow Sea, and had authority over the four thousand miles between the two. Genghis Khan, Kublai Khan, and Tamerlane introduced such order into Asia, that, Gibbon says, a child might have carried a purse from east to west, and not have been robbed or intimidated.

When Batun Khan was on the shores of the Ve-

netian Sea, he had more men under his command than Europe could have raised in a quarter of a century. There had been sixty millions of people under the Antonines in Western Europe; but, at about the time of the Inquisition, it is supposed there were only thirty millions there. Human life was so cheap in Great Britain in the thirteenth century, that a man was sold for less than a hawk. Thomas à Becket wore sheepskins; and it is said his clothing was peeled off his back, so little did sentiment, even among ecclesiastics, insist upon the cleanliness that we now require of the Chinese. There were in the hands of this invading host from the sunrise better arms than Europe possessed at the time. The Chinese had gunpowder and culverins. Except among the Arabs in Spain, who had learned the use of gunpowder from the Chinese, there were no arms of offence containing gunpowder in all Western Europe. The Chinese knew how to print when they invaded the West.

Genghis Khan is to us the scourge of God, and so are Kublai Khan and Tamerlane; but to the Chinese each is the propagandist of theism. There were no great spoils to be gathered on the plains of Hungary, on the desolate steppes of Russia, or on the sand-stretches of Northern Germany; and there is much reason for asserting that Western Europe was once in the power of China, and that she turned back largely out of religious considerations.

The invasion of the sunset by the sunrise filled all Western Europe, then steeped in poverty, with mag-

nificent ideas concerning the wealth of Kublai Khan. Cathay was the rich country Columbus sought when he entered upon that voyage in which he purposed to find Zipango, or the modern Japan. To the day of his death Columbus thought he had discovered in America simply islands lying on the coast of China, and tributary to it. His dream, by the way, has descended to the sand-lots, and the admirers of sand-lot oratory, who think we are to be covered by a Mongolian avalanche.

It was to reach the fabulously rich East, that many a colony was sent out toward the sunset. The East India Company sprang from the attraction of gold in the sunrise. Commercial enterprise has been stimulated ever since the thirteenth century, partly under the impulse of the dreams raised by the stories of Marco Polo and by the great power shown by the Mongolian dynasty in the thirteenth century, but of late by the certainty that the opening of the East will bring great commercial advantages to the West.

Only a few years ago Great Britain drew up her cannon before twenty-one gates of China, and when the rusty hinges would not turn she blew the gates from the cannon's mouth. She bombarded Canton in 1856; she destroyed a Chinese fleet in 1857; the French and English bombarded and entered Canton in 1858. In 1860 they captured Pekin, and afterwards resisted a rebellion that came near proving disastrous to the perpetuity of the reigning dynasty in China. At this terrific cost, the territory of one-fifth of the population of the globe was opened to the commerce of Great Britain.

When Burlingame secured commercial rights for America in China equal to those of Great Britain there, he was supposed by San Francisco to have achieved a diplomatic victory of the utmost importance to the Pacific coast. All the cities of the United States united in praise of this great conquest of commerce. The hope of important trade with the East helped build the Pacific Railway. Benton stands in bronze at St. Louis to-day, looking toward the setting sun, and pointing to the Orient along the line of the Pacific Railway, with the words, "There is the East!" How amazing that we should now be told that, after all, our commerce with China is not likely to be extensive, and that we ought not to run any large risks in order to preserve and enlarge it! Great Britain is farther off from China than we are, and for fifty years she has been practising justice and injustice, persuasion and force, in order to have a place on the Yellow Sea in which to sell her woollen and her cotton goods.

When the North Pacific Railway is finished, and we sail to China over the small circle of the globe, it will be cheaper to send a man or bale of goods from the Oregon coast to Canton by water, than it is now from San Francisco to Chicago by land.

Great Britain sent to the Chinese Empire, exclusive of goods passing in transit through the colony of Hong Kong, ten million dollars' worth of cotton goods, and four million dollars' worth of woollen goods, in 1877. That is the size of the commerce of Great Britain with China, separated from the British

looms by half the circumference of the globe. We are soon to be the wealthiest of all nations. Mr. Gladstone has predicted this, and Stuart Mill, in his "Chapters on Socialism," just issued in the "Fortnightly," begins his discussion by saying that the United States are soon to be the wealthiest of all nations, and the most powerful. What is to hinder the United States, so many thousands of miles nearer China than Great Britain is, from ultimately having as profitable a commerce with that empire as the United Kingdom has now? Our merchants in New York City, and all along the seaboard, understand this topic. When they petitioned Congress the other day against the unconstitutional anti-Chinese bill, they had this immense commerce of the future in mind; but if they had had before their thoughts only the figures representing our present trade with China, their solicitude would have been justified. I hold in my hand the speech of Senator Hamlin, whom may God bless for the record of his life in opposition to caste! [applause] and he represents that last year we sold to China more than two millions and a half worth of manufactured cotton, and more than a million dollars' worth of breadstuffs. We sent over a hundred thousand dollars' worth of iron and steel. The time is to come when railways will be needed in China.

It is not my business here to shut my eyes upon the antipodes, but as your outlook committee I must have in view the fact that the Mediterranean of the modern world is the Pacific Ocean. You send men

to South America now, to open trade. Your foremost newspapers in Boston and New York print Spanish editions to obtain a hearing for your manufacturers in advertising columns which go to the South American republics. I sit in the railway-trains, and as I drive into New York, I often listen to conversation among merchants concerning South America. "If I could leave my business," I heard a man say the other day, "I should devote myself to the building of railways in the southern half of our continent. I hardly care where I might be located. At any point I should have business enough; and, with a little capital to start with, the management of railways in those republics would pay enormously." We can awaken New York and Boston to the fact that South America — a territory sparsely populated — is likely to need railways and factories and manufactured goods, and we are arousing the whole seaboard here in order to open a market in that part of the world. Certain parties are endeavoring to corrupt Congress in order to get a subsidy to aid our market in South America. We are awake on that theme; but this immense opportunity in China, which lies as near to us *in time* as two-thirds of South America, we neglect. We cannot see our ultimate colossal interests in China, because, forsooth, some cheap-jack orator stamps his foot on the sand-lots at San Francisco, and raises a dust. Statesmen will look through that dust, although mere politicians can see nothing beyond it.

Where are the men on the cotton-plantations of

the South, that they do not see that their interests are at stake? Where are the men in the manufactories of New England, that they do not see that here is a market for their goods? More than forty thousand dollars' worth of clocks were sent to China from the United States last year. Where is the Connecticut clock-maker, ridiculed so much on the Pacific coast? His instincts I am willing to appeal to, if only you can use them to help hew this candlestick into shape, in which Almighty God by and by will place a candle for the political and religious regeneration of Asia. Senator Hamlin says he cannot bear to think that only fifteen barrels of the flour which now goes by the thousands of barrels from California should be taken by permission of the Chinese Empire in any vessel which traverses the Pacific, and lands in China. He cannot bear to see the crushing-out of our great commercial interests in that direction.

The candle will be far more important than the candlestick. If, here and now, I insist on the commercial argument, it is, that I may suggest that the establishment of right commercial relations with China is the only means of securing there for the United States the rights of the most favored nation.

Here are the four great propositions which underlie our whole debate concerning the Chinese: —

1. We cannot have in China the rights of the most favored nation there, unless we give the Chinese the rights of the most favored nation here. We ought to be above asking or hoping for more than the rights we grant.

2. Great Britain is not likely to diminish her access to the Chinese Empire. She opened it by force; she holds it now by force. The Chinese gates are not likely ever to be closed against Great Britain and the West of Europe; and therefore our trade with China will be subjected to rivalry.

3. If we please, we may outrival Great Britain herself in the ports of the Chinese Empire in our commercial activity. Are we to allow the vast commerce of the Orient to be controlled by a few favored nations?

4. If we do not here treat the Chinese fairly, if we do not respect our treaty obligations when they are once settled in the regular form, we are sure to strike a blow at this gigantic commerce which is the best hope of the political and religious regeneration of Asia.

In opposition to this series of weighty considerations which have given a right attitude to the Atlantic seaboard and to the larger part of the Mississippi Valley, what have the opponents of Chinese immigration to say? Senator Blaine's speech against the Chinese was skilful, but not wise. I take his objections to Chinese immigration, as summarizing the California side of this theme, so far as California's opinion has yet been heard. Much significance lies in the silences in California. A bishop did telegraph that he wished the President to approve the anti-Chinese bill. Six or eight ecclesiastics sent a similar message, but six or eight hundred other ecclesiastics did *not* send such a message. [Applause.] The

Morton committee of 1876 testified (p. iv. of report) that religious teachers in California were opposed to the anti-Chinese crusade. A large number of letters from San Francisco reach me, private communications, speaking of the terror which fills cultivated circles in many quarters of that State. From the headquarters of this discussion, I have a letter by a lawyer, in which he affirms that large parts of the State are under terrorism. The opinions found in the leading articles of the California newspapers are not always an accurate indication of the private sentiments of editors. "The Evening Post" of New York has lately published evidence that one of the foremost editors of California, whose paper vehemently attacks the Chinese, is in favor of Chinese immigration.

The anti-Chinese side has insisted openly on ten points, and secretly on one other. The secret objection, which I shall mention last, has had, I think, more political influence than all the ten objections that are discussed in public. If I do not pause long on any of the latter, I shall be excused by you, because the Presidential veto is a sufficient reply to them all.

1. It is objected that the Chinese immigrants are coolies.

This is disproved by the testimony of the best observers. Mr. Gibson, who has been ten years a missionary in China, and six or eight in San Francisco, testifies that the most of those who come to San Francisco appear there voluntarily. He explains

that the six companies do not allow a Chinaman to return to China without paying his debts in this country. This regulation sometimes prevents a Chinaman from embarking, and so appears to be like the law of a master for his slave; but it is only a righteous regulation of those companies to keep their men out of debt. Senator Morton's views on the Chinese question, published by Congress, contain these sentences: "The evidence established the fact that Chinese labor in California is as free as any other. They all come as free men, and are their own masters absolutely" (p. 13). The vetoed bill had in it no provision against involuntary immigration, and so proves its insincerity on this point.

2. It is objected that China, by permitting coolies to come here, has broken her treaty with the United States.

This fails of proof in the failure of the first proposition. The Secretary of State and the President make no such charge.

3. It is objected that the Chinese are nearly or quite beyond the reach of Christianization.

Protestant missionaries have been in China forty years, and have fifteen thousand Christian converts. Roman Catholic missionaries have been there two hundred and fifty years, and have eight hundred thousand. The Tae Ping rebellion was originated by a native who was friendly to Christianity, and would have succeeded but for the intervention of the arms of England and France. At Pekin there is a national university with English and American pro-

fessors. The Chinese government sends scores of its best young men to America for education. Mr. Blaine says the Chinese are very difficult subjects for Christianization, and he appears to have no hope that religious effort will alter their habits. In San Francisco, however, hundreds of Chinese immigrants have been baptized.

4. It is objected that the Chinese are unassimilable.

This fails of proof in the failure of the objection that they cannot be Christianized. The Chinese students in the East are not unpopular in their classes. Yung Wing married an American lady. He was a graduate of Yale College, and received from that institution the degree of doctor of laws. One of the best-informed witnesses brought before the Morton committee in San Francisco in 1876 said, "There is not a grander man on the face of the earth than this same Yung Wing. He is a noble fellow. I want you to get acquainted with him. He has a grand head, — a Daniel Webster head. He is an American citizen now." (*Report*, p. 464.)

5. It is objected that the Chinese are corrupting.

Only to those who are already spoiled [applause]; and, if the statements of sand-lot oratory are true, only to those who are doubly and quadruply spoiled, and have rolled in iniquity until they have burned out their own eyes! [Applause.] The vices of the Chinese are dangerous only to the dissipated, and dissipation begins in San Francisco at the American gambling-hells and in the American whiskey-dens.

It is the duty of American law to repress and eradicate the iniquities of both the white and the yellow race on the Pacific coast. Families with Chinese servants in them do not complain of this corruption. What does California expect us to believe, when we are told that the Chinese corrupt every thing they touch, and in the same breath are assured that nobody can compete with them as house-servants in the first families?

6. It is objected that the Chinese will come to America in overwhelming numbers.

The tide of immigration, the President says, is confessedly receding. Only about two hundred thousand have come in twenty-five years. The population of China is probably not over three hundred millions. "There is a great probability that the present population of China, devastated as the country has been by internecine wars and occasional famines, does not surpass three hundred millions." (*Statesman's Year Book for 1879*, p. 664.) I do not know any better authority than Martin's celebrated Year Book; and that volume, speaking in the face of the scholarship of the world, undertakes to say that the average estimate of four hundred and fifty or four hundred millions is not justified.

7. It is objected that our commerce with China is unimportant.

That of Great Britain is not, and ours may become larger than hers. Our commerce with China, imports and exports put together, amounted in the last year to twenty-four million dollars.

8. It is objected that the Chinese underbid and degrade American labor.

The wages paid to Chinamen in California are notoriously as high as those paid to similar grades of workmen in the East. Extortionate wages are asked by white labor in California. Such wages ought to be reduced, and must ultimately fall.

9. It is objected that there will be riot on the Pacific coast if the immigration of the Chinese is not suppressed.

No disturbance has been caused there by the veto. I listened last night for the stamp of Kearney's foot on the sand-lots; but my impression is that the heaviest impact of that weapon on American soil will cause no tremor beyond the sand-lots hereafter. [Applause.] The undercurrent of the best California sentiment is not represented by the anti-Chinese vetoed bill.

10. It is objected that the Chinese immigrants are not naturalized, and that it is unsafe to have a large population here who cannot vote.

In 1870 Charles Sumner voted for striking out the word "white" from the naturalization-laws. Massachusetts has naturalized Chinese as being nearer white than black. The hesitancy over a shade of color is the worst form of the spirit of caste. Oh for another hour of Charles Sumner! [Applause.]

11. But, lastly, it is objected secretly that the political interests of Republicanism and Democracy in a closely contested Presidential election require the vote of California, and so a compromise with this hoodlum bill.

This is said to be the only argument used in private conversation at Washington by the friends of the late anti-Chinese measures. It is presumably the only one used with entire sincerity. Its character is such that it will not bear to be employed publicly, and so it needs no reply except its exposure to the light.

Caste! race-prejudice! color! These are words of fearful omen in American history. Central syllables of the anti-Chinese crusade, they remind us torturingly of the pro-slavery cry which was put down yesterday in the United States at the cannon's mouth! California has in it men who threaten secession while the muzzles of the cannon which suppressed secession are yet smoking!

An American senator was lately represented in a cartoon, with a negro leaning on his breast and holding a ballot. The Burlingame treaty was under the senator's feet; and in the background stood a Chinaman wrapped in his silks, and behind him were the porcelain vases and boxes of tea indicative of the rich commerce which may spring up between the sunset and the sunrise. "Am I not a man and a brother?" was the language of the Chinaman to Senator Blaine, as he stood in the centre of Thomas Nast's eloquent group. I fear that years hence the good deeds of the senator, whose opinions I oppose, may only add to the emphasis with which his dereliction from the stern duties of the present hour will be reproved by the muse of history. New England is terribly in earnest on the topic of caste. My gen-

eration has suffered in this country in order to put down caste, and abhors the party cry of race-prejudice in American politics. I lift up the one remaining arm of my generation: the other was shot away at Gettysburg, and this arm that is lifted up is yet bandaged; and I undertake to say to any senator and to any representative who votes for excluding a tax-payer who is orderly and industrious and temperate, from the rights of an American citizen, simply because of his color, or, as in the case of the Chinese, for merely a shade of color, that I, for one, will never lift arm or voice to give, or invite others to give, a vote for any man who thus votes for caste. [Applause.] I believe that my generation, which has suffered so much to put down the influence of caste in this country, will not. I remember the noble record of this politician; but he forgets it, and the fact of his forgetfulness my generation will remember. Only he, among New England senators, has clothed himself in Kearneyism. The genius of American history looks down on this lost leader, and says to him, in Shakspeare's words, —

> "Hast thou not spoke like thunder on my side?
> Been sworn my soldier; bidding me depend
> Upon thy stars, thy fortune, and thy strength?
> And dost thou now fall over to my foes?
> Thou wear a lion's hide! doff it for shame,
> And hang a calf's skin on those recreant limbs."
>
> *King John*, Act III., Scene 1.

[Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Let us suppose ourselves to be travelling in disguise with a group of tramps, and that we lead them into a frank expression of their plans concerning pelf. Nearly every tramp has a piece of chalk, of which the mark will not wash out in the rain; I obtained such a piece myself from tramps at Pittsburg. One of the vagabonds explains to the company how he marks gate-posts. A single circle, without any line across it, means that you can obtain bread and clothing in the house behind the gate on which the mark is made. A similar circle with a single line across it indicates that you can obtain food there, but no clothing. A circle with two lines across it signifies that you will find a dog there, and will do well to beware. All up and down the Mississippi Valley, gate-posts are marked by cabalistic signs. They differ in different localities, but these are the ones I found in use in the vexed mining districts in Western Pennsylvania.

In the lonely country-side your tramp is often king, for the head of a household may be at a distance in the field. Unless a dog protect the family, it is in danger from any tramp who dares to be violent. Explaining these signs at a dinner-table in St. Louis, and again in Chicago, and again in Louisville, I found on each occasion persons in the company who had seen these signs on their own gate-posts, but never knew what they meant. They were explained to me by a city missionary who had lived much among the

tramps. It is the opprobrium of American law, that tramps can strike terror into lonely country homes. What is the shame to our police arrangements when tramps attack railways, turn out part of the passengers, if necessary, or bind the officers of the train, man the train themselves, and so obtain transit from place to place! Several times trains have been run by tramps into towns on important Western railroads. Some of the Western States have given managers of railway-trains power to act as constables, and to take life if necessary in protection of the company. When I rolled through Iowa, across billowing prairie-land as fat as Mesopotamia, I was told that it was not always safe on the railway to wear a fur hat; for when a train is boarded by tramps the first men they seize on, or try to pick the pockets of, are those who are fairly well-dressed. The traveller is now and then seriously advised, even this side of Omaha, to dress in rather rough costume, and to endeavor to appear impecunious, as a means of safety.

This interruption of railways, this intimidation of families by tramps, are not startling signs of the times, you say; but go to the sunrise end of the great bridge at St. Louis, and look at the encampments of tramps there. The moment a riot occurs on the other side in the city, they pour across that bridge for pelf. They understand each other by various signs left on their run-ways. At Pittsburg, the moment the riot burst out, down came these ravenous hordes from the mountains and the mines

and the country outside, much as in the French Revolution roughs and thieves poured into Paris. As the vultures gather to carrion, so the tramps to a riot in a great city.

What shall be done with tramps? I would place them in workhouses. But how shall the roving idlers and beggars and thieves who deserve arrest be caught? I should like to have a regulation that there be appointed, but not publicly proclaimed, a day each summer for hunting tramps. You cannot expect the farmer to leave his work, and get the tramp arrested who insults his family, or burns his reaping-machines; but if you will have a secret understanding among the constables of Massachusetts, that on such a day, say the third of July, the power of all the officers shall be put forth at once to catch these vagabonds, and if the constables let into the secret some of the most active men of the different towns, the tramps will have no opportunity to run from the borders of one town, and obtain freedom in another. You will swoop up all the vagabonds in Massachusetts in one attack; and your activity will amount to something, because it is carried on during one day.

As John Milton said, however, an ounce of activity used as prevention is worth a hundred pounds used as a cure. [Applause.] And therefore I would have these tramps, when gathered into the workhouse, taught morals, as well as how to earn their board, and add something to the income of the State. Let all these men whom you have swooped

up as vagabonds on Massachusetts soil be brought here for a few minutes while I discuss, with fearful frankness, the methods by which I would rid the land of the unconscientious unemployed class. Take the case in the concrete: bring these tramps here; look at them, and tell me how you will effectually mend them.

There may be ministers here who think these tramps in their youth have been sufficiently taught and labored with by the Church. I am not of that opinion. [Applause.] There may be socialists here who think that when these tramps are arrested and incarcerated they are unjustly used. I am not of that opinion. [Applause.] A socialist newspaper at Chicago, the only English sheet of the kind in the United States, publishes weekly a set of resolutions by the socialistic labor party, denouncing anti-tramp laws; but the Northern States are, most of them, passing such laws. The men who denounce anti-tramp-laws, and act out their opposition politically, are likely themselves to be trampled upon by American common-sense. [Applause.]

Nevertheless, if we are to rid society of these roughs, sneaks, thieves, thugs, we must go back to the work of diffusing conscientiousness in society. [Applause.] Let it begin in the home; let it, for reasons which I undertook to give on another occasion, go on in the school. But, after all that the home and the school can do for the perishing and the dangerous class, I am not at all sure that we shall not have a large population utterly unprinci-

pled, as most of these tramps are. How have our present tramps come into existence? Under and in spite of American schools and churches; under and in spite of the American loose training of children in families; under and in spite of all the precautions that our fathers thought would bring us out of our dangers from universal suffrage. The tramp population is so large now, when we have not occupied one acre in ten of our territory, as to be a terror to railways. You blame the German for his Sunday attendance on beer-gardens; but you have little rebuke for American railways which drive their trains from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate on the Lord's Day. [Applause.]

As to the great overland mail-trains, they are very much like ships crossing the sea, and considerations of necessity apply to them much as they do to ocean-going steamers. Personally, I should prefer not to travel on the ocean on Sundays, nor on a railway-train in the Sierra Nevada: yet works of necessity and mercy are performed lawfully on the Lord's Day, and I have not yet seen reason to doubt the partial application of that exception to overland passenger-trains and to steamers on the ocean. The question is, however, whether rattling railroads may run their freight past churches filled with worshippers; whether railway-employees — a community, an army greater than ever the Rebellion called into the field — are to be driven through seven days of work, and allowed no opportunity for rest or religious culture. We have millions of men employed on our railways,

and the claim is preposterous that they are not to be allowed a day of rest for meeting their families, and for religious culture. If railway magnates wish to sow the seeds of communism and socialism broadcast through the land, if they wish to fan conspiracy among their working-men, let them desecrate that day which ought to be used for securing the industrial sanity of the laboring masses as well as their religious culture. We can expect only strikes and riots of working-men who are driven to toil through seven days a week, on low pay, without opportunity for meeting their families, or for rest and religious worship. The moral education of working-men is so monstrously neglected by railway magnates who require and enforce Sunday work, that the latter ought to expect strikes and rioting from their abased helots.

These are the propositions on which I insist: —

1. Co-operation implies a high degree of honesty, and fails without it.

2. Until conscientiousness is thoroughly diffused through society, there can be no effective harmonization of the interests of labor and capital. [Applause.]

3. Safe republicanism under universal suffrage consists of the diffusion of liberty, the diffusion of intelligence, the diffusion of property when it is earned, and of the opportunity to earn it, and of the diffusion of conscientiousness.

4. There can be no diffusion of conscientiousness adequate to protect society from danger under free suffrage, unless a day is set apart for the periodic moral and religious instruction of the masses.

5. Sabbath laws are justified in a republic by the right of self-preservation.

6. They are also justified by divine command.

7. The sabbath is the only adequate teacher of political sanity.

8. It is the poor man's day of rest.

9. The enemy of laws providing opportunity for the religious instruction and the physical rest of society, is the enemy of the working masses.

10. Among the enemies of the masses, therefore, are to be reckoned: —

(1) Railroads that break Sunday laws.

(2) Sunday swindling public amusements.

(3) The opponents of the laws for closing rum-shops on Sunday.

(4) Immigrants who favor the Parisian Sunday.

(5) Churches, Romish or Protestant, which turn half of Sunday into a holiday.

(6) Secularists who would abolish all Sunday laws. The latter propose anti-religious tests. If the business of the country is to go on during Sundays as on Mondays, Christians cannot hold office. It is a condition of the service of any railroad or other establishment unnecessarily run on Sundays, that the employés shall not be Christians,

A peculiar Christian law, you say, justifies Sunday observance in this country. A peculiar Christian law justifies monogamy; and we have lately had a decision, from the Supreme Court itself, that polygamy can be opposed under the law of this nation. Monogamy is a distinctively Christian institution,

and if, according to the highest authority known to our courts, we have a right to oppose polygamy and uphold monogamy, I hold that we are in that doing something as distinctively Christian as we are when we uphold fair, tolerant Sunday laws. If you attack the latter, I point you to our judicial decision as to the former, and tell you that in the United States we are, after all, based politically upon the foundations, not of French, but of American, republicanism. Not Mirabeau, not the leaders of the reign of terror, are our prophets in America, but Washington, and Adams, and Madison, and the men who so founded New England upon moral training, that property can be safely diffused here.

An important distinction exists between Sunday observance as a *religious* ordinance and as a *civil* institution. American courts, while enforcing the Sunday laws, disclaim interference with religion. They base these laws on various secular grounds, among which are the right of all classes to rest, so far as practicable, on one day in seven; the right to undisturbed worship on the day set apart for this purpose by the great majority of the people; the decent respect which should be paid to the institutions of the people; the value to the State of the weekly rest-day as a means of that popular intelligence and morality on which free institutions depend for their maintenance.

The Supreme Court of New York, in sustaining one of the Sunday laws, says, "The act complained of here compels no religious observance, and offences

against it are punishable, not as sins against God, but as injurious to and having a malignant influence on society. It rests upon the same foundation as a multitude of other laws upon our statute-book, such as those against gambling, lotteries, keeping disorderly houses, polygamy, horse-racing."

The action of the State as to Sunday laws proceeds upon the principle that the liberty of rest for each depends on a law of rest for all.

Is it said that nothing can be done to secure the observance of Sunday laws in large towns? Nearly half the population of New York City are foreigners by birth and habits. A transient population, estimated at thirty thousand, of sailors, visitors, travellers, swirls through the town. Yet, with the exception of certain parts of the city occupied almost exclusively by foreigners, the suspension of business, and the quiet and order which mark the streets on sabbath, are a constant surprise to strangers. The noisy crying of newspapers and other wares on Sunday, which a few years ago was such a nuisance in New York, and which is still tolerated in other of our cities, is suppressed. Under the excellent processions law, passed five years ago, an end has been put to the noisy parades and processions with bands of music and rabble following, which previously had become so serious an evil. The Sunday-theatre law is thoroughly enforced, attempts at evading it receiving the prompt attention of the police when brought to their notice. German theatrical companies perform in Newark and other place on Sunday evening,

because, as they say in their advertisements, they are excluded by law from performing in New York. (See the *Illustrated Christian Weekly*, Dec. 21, 1878, and *Reports of the New York Sabbath Committee.*)

The United States had the attention and commanded the respect of the world when they closed the Centennial Exhibition on Sundays.

Lift an archipelago above the sea, and it is no longer a set of separate islands, but a single mass of firm land. Lift the warring interests of classes out of the sea of selfishness, and the solidity of society is secured. In Mrs. Stowe's "Poganuc People," class prejudices fade out of New England towns only during a religious revival. I have seen factory proprietors, managers, and operatives sitting side by side on the floor in the same aisle in an overcrowded church, and singing psalms from the same book, when a few weeks previously they had been almost ready to draw knives, and use them on each other's throats.

What is the proof of the divine appointment of the Lord's Day?

(1) The re-institution, by the Sermon on the Mount, of the moral spirit of the whole Decalogue. This is the vital point. It is plain that certain of the commands of the Decalogue are re-instituted by the Sermon on the Mount, as, for example, the commands concerning murder, theft, and adultery. But "not one jot or tittle shall in any wise pass from the law." Evidently the Decalogue is intended by this language. The whole scope of the Sermon on the Mount shows that the moral spirit of the whole

Decalogue is re-instituted. This is as true of the Fourth Commandment as of the fifth, sixth, or seventh. What is the moral spirit of the Fourth Commandment? The duty of observing one day in seven as a period of rest and religious culture. It is not important that the day of the Jewish sabbath be observed. The first day of the Jewish week commemorates the resurrection, and is the one day in seven observed by the apostles. If it is asked, therefore, how the Fourth Commandment can be applied to the Lord's Day, the reply is that the Sermon on the Mount re-instates the moral spirit of the whole Decalogue, and that the teaching and example of the apostles and our Lord substituted for the seventh the first day of the week, and this as the Lord's Day in commemoration of the resurrection.

(2) The Fourth Commandment, and the reason attached to it.

(3) The accordance of the appointment of Sunday with the physical and moral constitution of man. (See HESSEY, *Bampton Lectures on the Sabbath*, for the arguments in detail supporting standard views on this topic.)

You say you will take care of America without Sunday. You have not been able to keep her in order with Sunday. You say that men cannot be made moral by legislation. They can be made immoral by the want of it, and by the consequent presence of temptation. You say that the Parisian Sunday would be better for our productive work in the factories and other industries of the land than

the New England Sunday. But I have heard that after a Continental Sunday comes a Continental blue Monday, and that it is very common in France and Germany, and even in England among the lower class of operatives, for Monday to be an idle day on account of the necessity of obtaining recuperation after the dissipations of Sunday. Let us have the Parisian or Continental Sunday, and our trades will have the Continental unproductive Monday. "Operatives are perfectly right," said John Stuart Mill, "in thinking that, if all worked on Sunday, seven days' work would be given for six days' wages." Manufacturers abroad often affirm that American operatives can well demand higher prices than the Continental, because they are not incapacitated for work on Monday by the necessity of getting rid of the effects of Sunday's dissipation. Only the Sunday rightly used makes Monday elastic. Coleridge said that God gives civilization in its Sundays fifty-two springs a year. Your operative, your horse, under the law against cruelty to animals, deserves his seventh portion of time for rest. Two drovers started from Ohio together; one drove Sundays, the other did not; and the one who did not drove seventeen miles every Monday, passed the other in a fortnight, reached Philadelphia first, and was two days ahead in the market. Hundreds of similar cases might be cited to show why it is now conceded by physicians, and managers of industry, that the rest ordained of God is the source of industrial vigor.

Infidel France, during her Revolution, while op-

posing Christianity with merciless hatred, and abolishing the Christian calendar, yet made provision for a periodic day of rest, and enforced its observance by law. An enactment of 17 Thermidor, An. VI., required the public offices, schools, workshops, and stores to be closed, and prohibited sales, except of eatables and medicines, and public labor, except in the country during seedtime and harvest. This action of a secularized anti-Christian republic is a sufficient reply to any who think Sunday laws are demanded only by the Christian prejudices of modern civilized nations. The French legislation required rest for the population on only one day in ten, but it recognized emphatically the great natural law of periodicity in its application to labor and repose. The black, far-flapping Gehenna-wings of the French Revolution, moving through history as a bat through a parlor at night, and putting out the candles, left the taper of a legalized day of rest still shining.

It is now two hundred years since Great Britain placed on her statute-books a law providing that "no tradesman, artificer, workman, laborer, or other person whatsoever, shall do or exercise any worldly labor, business, or work of their ordinary callings, upon the Lord's Day or any part thereof, works of necessity and charity only excepted." This is the language of an enactment of the 29th of Charles II., 1678. It is yet the basis of British and American Sunday laws. The physical and economic advantages of a weekly day of rest support it as a civil institution among eighty millions of English-

speaking people, embracing the two most free, wealthy, industrious, and powerful nations of the globe.

It is fifteen hundred years since Constantine put into execution the law which brought an unwonted hush one day in seven to all industry in the Roman dominion. Ten centuries from the time when Christianity closed her chief political struggles, the United States — a republic built chiefly by Christianity, and governing more square miles than Cæsar ever ruled over — calls peace to the industries of her continental domain one day in seven, and sends nine millions of her population — one in five — to a World's Fair, and shuts its door every Sunday.

What are the great industrial and economic advantages of a weekly day of rest, which have preserved Sunday as a civil institution, under the law of the survival of the fittest, through all the changes and turmoil since Constantine?

At the Dublin meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, on the 4th of September, 1867, Mr. Bianconi, to whom Ireland is greatly indebted for establishing and maintaining its system of public cars, presented in a scientific paper the results of his extensive experience. "I found," he said, "that I could work a horse with more advantage eight miles a day for six days, than six miles a day for seven days; and therefore I discovered that by *not* working on Sunday I made a saving of twelve per cent." This mathematical statement of the commercial value of piety extorted a laugh from

the men of science; but the application of arithmetic to the solution of the problem of the right arrangement of work and rest for man and beast is neither ridiculous nor unimportant.

Suppose that an operative in a mill, a farmer at his plough, a clerk behind his counter, and a student at his desk, are taken as representatives of society at large, and given their choice either to work ten hours a day for six days of the week, and rest the seventh day, or to work eight and a half hours a day for seven days, and have no rest-day. In the former case they would work sixty hours a week, and in the latter slightly less; but I venture to affirm that each of the four would choose the former alternative, and be justified by experience in doing so. When a man must work sixty hours a week, what are the reasons which make it wise for him to labor for six days and do all his work, and rest the seventh, rather than to divide the labor equally between the seven days?

1. Monotony in toil is not broken up when the seventh day must contain as much labor as either of the preceding six days.

2. Without the breaking-up of the monotony of labor, there can be no adequate rest.

3. Without adequate rest, the pace and speed of labor soon slacken.

4. Lashed forward monotonously, without proper rest in their work, the brain and body fall into disease.

5. Productive power is therefore, by unalterable natural law, dependent for its highest efficiency on

periodic rest of such length and frequency as will maintain the physical and mental elasticity of the laborer.

It is very significant, that while sixty hours of labor may not be too much for body or brain, if performed on six days of the week, and followed by a day of rest, the same number of hours of labor, if distributed equally through the seven days, may ruin both body and brain. It is chiefly this physiological and arithmetical fact which has preserved Sunday as a civil institution since Constantine.

In portions of California, the days of the week yet are, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Picnic Day, Blue Monday. It is simply a question of the distribution of hours of labor and rest, whether a man shall work sixty hours a week, and have a jaded, unproductive Monday, or the same number of hours, and have an elastic Monday. This is the large magic of periodicity, the industrial sorcery of mere arithmetical distribution of hours. The law by which these results are effected is written in the very constitution of man, and will not soon be repealed, nor even modified, by either capitalists or trades-unions.

I hold that when our fathers on Clark Island, yonder, rested on their first sabbath day in New England, they were setting a good example not only for the church, but for the factories and railways and every industrial establishment of America. Until we have enough of their spirit to enable us to keep the day of rest without any substantial infraction, we shall

not be safe in this country, as our fathers were safe, without bolted doors. There are many gray-haired men here to-day, and some of them who were born between the Hudson River and Plymouth Rock have slept in houses with unbolted doors in the country-side of New England fifty years ago. I read not long since, in a brilliant paper by a Massachusetts public man, the statement that in his boyhood he used to go to sleep with the front door in his father's house open; and this was in the Connecticut Valley, where the tramps annoy the farms occasionally to-day. You wish to restore to public life that sweet security, and to industrial life that peace, which filled New England when she had a sabbath worthy the name. I look back to the moonlight dropping through the open doors of New England country homes in the midnights of fifty and eighty years ago, and find in that unsuspicious radiance, and in the religious culture, the united citizenship, the theocratic brotherhood, which lay beneath it, the pillar of fire and the only pillar of fire that can lead us out of communism and socialism and the political dangers of universal suffrage. [Applause.]

IX.

ALCOHOL AND THE HUMAN BRAIN.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-NINTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 10.

It is all nonsense about not being able to work without ale and gin and cider and fermented liquors. Do lions and cart-horses drink ale? — SYDNEY SMITH.

The principle of total abstinence I have learned by experience is solemnly right. — DR. B. W. RICHARDSON.

IX.

ALCOHOL AND THE HUMAN BRAIN.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

At 11.30 Tremont Temple was darkened, and Mr. Cook introduced Dr. George B. Harriman of Boston, the owner of a one-seventy-fifth objective microscope made by Tolles of that city. The Monday Lectures have been much indebted to this instrument for illustrations on biological topics.

An address was made by Dr. Harriman, previous to his exhibition of the blood-corpuscles of inebriates as magnified by this powerful microscope.

1. Alcohol acts specifically upon the coloring matter in the red blood corpuscles, causing them in many instances to become colorless, or the coloring matter may settle in one portion of the globule.

2. The red blood corpuscles become distorted and shrunken, and in some cases completely broken up.

3. Alcohol drives out the coloring-matter, which settles in fine pigment granules in other morphological elements of the blood and in the edges of the white corpuscles.

4. It produces a parasitic vegetation in the fluid of the blood, and hydro-carbon substances which can readily be detected with the high power of the microscope: also fine granular pigments which can be seen with proper magnifying power in the tissues of the body, causing purple-red streaks that are sometimes visible without any microscope.

After his address Dr. Harriman threw upon a large screen the magnified corpuscles of healthy blood, and also of the blood of inebriates. It was a very striking exhibition. In the presentation of healthy blood the corpuscles stood out upon the screen, clear, round, and well defined. The magnified blood-disks of the inebriate presented corpuscles which were shrunken, distorted, irregular in outline, with and without coloring matter, and with here and there growing from them a fungoid filament. Spores and dark granular pigments were also numerous in the fluid of the blood. There was no mistaking the difference between the diseased and the healthy blood. It was a rare and very impressive exhibition, and showed how important an agent the microscope may become in the detection of human disease.

In the Prelude on Current Events Mr. Cook said,

Only a few flaming lightnings of God's natural Sinai have been thrown into this darkened air, but these vivid views of blood-disks in health and in disease hush us with awe! Why should not the flashing of this electricity be brought sometimes before the Church in God's name, and especially before the young in the sabbath schools? A theological

quarterly of the highest reputation lately had an article defending the proposal that an illustrated pulpit be introduced among the new agencies for promoting religious knowledge. I am not about to recommend an innovation so startling, although I might do so, and take protection under the shadow of many a revered modern name, and especially under the authority of the great days when art spoke religiously in the pictures and carved stone of cathedrals. In one of his illustrated lectures on geology, President Hitchcock said, "Before the close of this century, pictures will be as much used in the preaching of sermons as are manuscripts." (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1878, p. 569.)

Ought not young countenances to be brought face to face with God's penalties on intemperance and sensuality and gluttony, and the whole range of physical vices? It must have been that the soft snows of winter were falling on my sixth or seventh year when I first saw, in a district schoolhouse in the holy country-side, Dr. Sewall's famous engravings illustrating the effects of intemperance upon the coats of the stomach. I remember how I sat, swinging my feet, on the front benches with the other little boys, and how I stared at the strange gentleman with the colored plates. He put up before the school first an illustration of the inner surface of the stomach in a healthy state. It was in color slightly reddish, tinged with yellow. At its side was placed an illustration of the coats of the stomach of a moderate drinker. The blood-vessels stood out plainly, and

were inflamed and enlarged. We could not see them at all in the healthy stomach. Alcoholic physical excitement had shot flashes of diseased color through the thin, delicate membranes. Next came the representation of the coats of the stomach of the habitual drunkard. Here were swollen, bloody, knotted veins, permanently inflamed and enlarged. Interspersed among them were several blue spots, looking like the result of poison, and similar to the rum-blossoms sometimes seen on the drunkard's face. In another plate we looked on a cancerous stomach, with its creeping, crawling, quirling ulcer spots. The picture of the coats of the stomach of a distinguished man who died of *delirium tremens* represented them as covered with a dark-brown flaky substance like black vomit, dropping off the walls in the process of ulceration, in the round, putrid sores in the interior of this citadel of life. I went home chilled by the ghastly vision, and told my parents what I had seen; and from that time to this every thing concerning the relation of science to intemperance has been of interest to me. In the enlargement of sabbath-school instruction there is room for the illumination of both Ebal and Gerizim by the light of the freshest researches of science. [Applause.]

Now that we have appointed professorships in our theological seminaries on the relations between religion and science, it is high time for the sabbath schools to bring themselves up abreast of the latest investigations. Many of our churches have put into

certain of their sabbath classes compact text-books summarizing the laws of health, and inculcating upon the young the wisdom of the best experts concerning temperance.

The most effective international society of our time is the sabbath school. As an antidote to socialism and many other modern diseases, there is nothing more priceless than the union of the young people of all lands, under the moulding hands of Christians worthy of the name, and for the study of religious truth. The international sabbath-school lessons are weaving nations into unity, and creating a spirit which practically makes one body of all evangelical denominations. What I want is the word "regeneration" uttered early as the commencement of temperance reform, and uttered by the international power of the Church, so that the whisper of science on this theme may be heard around the globe. There are many ways of grasping a vine on a trellis-work. You may seize the tendril here, or the grape-cluster there; but your better way is to lay hold of the vine by the trunk near the earth, if you would secure at once all its branches. There are three great words in the temperance reform: "legislation, abstinence, regeneration." If I understand the theme at all, only he has hold of the trunk of the vine of reform who seizes upon personal regeneration as his central idea.

The church which does most for the child will have most influence with the family. Seize upon any corner of the web of society, and draw it out of its

tangles, and you will ultimately draw out of tangles every part of the web of the world. But the corner from which the tangles unravel the most easily, we call the child. The sabbath school is the grappling-hook between the loyal under the Supreme Theocracy, and the disloyal. I should be able to expel socialism from the world if I could bring men and women at large in society into God's house every Sunday, and persuade them to give up their wills to God in total self-surrender. The short way out of socialism is through Nazareth. [Applause.]

I hope the day will come when we shall have only one postal-stamp for the whole world. It is twenty-five years to-day since the first company was formed to lay an ocean-cable. Russia, Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Greece, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Prussia, are all united at this moment in a postal union. They are united also in a telegraphic union; and there is already clamor for a uniform system of weights and measures among all civilized nations. We begin to have proposals for the issuing of a post-age-stamp in the United States which will go to China and Russia, Italy and Greece, as well as to any part of our own land. These results would have surprised Cæsar; but the international study of religious truth is a yet more sublime achievement. How would it have added to the enthusiasm even of a Paul, when he went out of the Ostian gate to die, if he could have seen ten thousand times ten thousand, in all nations and tribes and kindreds and tongues, sitting down every sabbath day to the same lesson;

and at the Cape of Good Hope, and at the edge of the Yellow Sea, and in the Sandwich Islands, in Germany and in France and in Italy, and on these once desolate shores, uniting to study the same book! The child is the future. Show the children Sinai; show the children both the revealed and the natural divine laws; show the children Calvary; let them bow down in total self-surrender before God, as both Redeemer and Lord; and, with their hands locked internationally as now, he will bring the whole planet out of socialism, out of communism, out of intemperance, out of sensuality, and so near his own heart that the beating of his pulses will become the marching-song of the ages. [Applause.]

Henry F. Durant, Esq., the founder of Wellesley College, read the report of the Boston Monday Lectureship committee for the present year. It was as follows, and was received with much applause by the audience: —

ANNUAL REPORT OF BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP COMMITTEE, MARCH 10, 1879.

The Boston Monday Lectureship addresses, in the United States and Great Britain, more than a million of readers weekly.

The Preludes and Lectures are republished in full in Boston, New York, Cincinnati, London, and Glasgow. The sale of the American editions of the Preludes and Lectures in book form has been unprecedentedly large for works on the relations of science and religion. Three British publishers have issued separate editions of the Preludes and Lectures in book form.

Professor Schöberlein of Göttingen University, and Professor Ulrici of Halle, have placed the seal of the approval of German scholarship on the Boston Monday Lectures on Biology.

The more recent volume on Conscience has been received with distinguished favor.

The Preludes on Current Events connected with some of the most vital issues in public affairs have been characterized by a wholly unpartisan spirit and by freedom of discussion. These have attracted marked attention at home and abroad.

A New York Thursday Lectureship has been maintained by Mr. Cook during the present season, side by side with the Boston Monday Lectureship, and with audiences of the best size and quality.

It is evident that the opportunities of usefulness before the Monday Lectureship, in reaching the minds of our countrymen, and in giving proper direction in regard to the great questions which are pressing upon us hourly, are steadily widening and deepening in value.

Your committee therefore recommend, first, that Mr. Cook be invited to give twenty lectures next season; second, that the committee endeavor to raise the funds necessary for the expenses of the lectureship. For the committee,

H. F. DURANT, *Chairman.*

THE LECTURE.

Cassio's language in "Othello" is to-day adopted by cool physiological science: "O God, that men should put an enemy in their mouths to steal away their brains! That we should with joy, revel, pleasure, and applause, transform ourselves into beasts! To be now a sensible man, by and by a fool, and presently a beast! Oh, strange! Every inordinate cup is unblessed, and the ingredient is a devil." (SHAKSPEARE, *Othello*, Act II., Scene 3.)

Central in all discussion of the influence of intoxicating drink upon the human brain, is the fact that albuminous substances are hardened by alcohol. I

take the white of an egg, and, as you see, turn it out in a fluid condition into a goblet. The liquid is a viscous, glue-like substance, largely composed of albumen. It is made up of substantially the same chemical ingredients which constitute a large part of the brain and the nervous system, and of many other tissues of the body. Forty per cent of the matter in the corpuscles of the blood is albumen. I am about to drench this white of an egg with alcohol. I have never performed the experiment before, and it may not succeed; but so certain am I that it will, that I purpose never to put the bottle to my lips, and introduce into my system a fiend to steal away my brains. [Applause.] Edmund Burke, when he heard William Pitt say in Parliament that England would stand till the day of judgment, rose and replied, "What I fear is the day of *no* judgment." When Booth was about to assassinate Lincoln, his courage failed him, and he rushed away from the theatre for an instant, into the nearest restaurant, and called for brandy. Harden the brain by drenching it in alcohol, and you harden the moral nature.

If you will fasten your attention on the single fact that alcohol hardens this albuminous substance with which I place it in contact, you will have in that one strategic circumstance an explanation of most of its ravages upon the blood and nerves and brain. I beg you to notice that the white of an egg in the goblet does not become hardened by exposure to the air. I have allowed it to remain exposed for

a time, in order that you may see that there is no legerdemain in this experiment.

I now pour alcohol upon this albuminous fluid; and, if the result here is what it has been in other cases, I shall presently be able to show you a very good example of what coagulated albumen is in the nervous system and blood-corpuscles. You will find this white of an egg gradually so hardened that you can take it out without a fork. I notice already that a mysterious change in it has begun. A strange thickening shoots through the fluid mass. This is your moderate drunkard that I am stirring up now. There is your tippler, a piece of him [holding up a portion of the coagulated mass upon the glass pestle]. The coagulation of the substance of the brain and of the nervous system goes on. I am stirring up a hard drinker now. The infinitely subtle laws of chemistry take their course. Here is a man [holding up a large part of the coagulated mass] whose brain is so leathery that he is a beast, and kicks his wife to death. I am stirring up in this goblet now the brain of a hardened sot. On this prongless glass rod, I hold up a large part of the white of an egg which you saw poured into this glass as a fluid. Here is your man [holding up a larger mass] who has benumbed his conscience and his reason both, and has begun to be dangerous to society from the effects of a diseased brain. I dip out of the goblet now your man in delirium tremens. Wherever alcohol touches this albuminous substance, it hardens it, and it does so by absorbing and fixing

the water it contains. This is a chemical process and not a mechanical, as the hardening of the white of an egg by hot water or a heated gridiron would be. Here is what was once a fluid, rolling easily to right and left; and now you have the leathery brain and the hard heart!

Distortions of blood-disks taken from the veins of drunkards have been shown to you here by the stereopticon and the best microscope in the United States. All the amazing alterations you saw in the shape, color, and contents of the blood-disks are produced by the chemical affinity of alcohol for the water in the albuminous portion of the globules.

I am speaking here in the presence of expert chemists. You say I have no business to know any thing about these topics. Well, the new professor in Andover on the relations between religion and science has no business to know them; the new professor at Edinburgh University and in Princeton has no business to know them; the lectureship at the Union Theological Seminary in New York has no right to teach on these themes. There is getting to be a tolerably large company of us who are intending to look into these matters at the point of the microscope and the scalpel. In a wiser generation than ours, the haughty men who will not speak themselves of the relations of religion and science, and will not allow others to speak, — veritable dogs in the manger, — will be turned as dogs out of the manger. [Applause.] I speak very strongly, for I have an indignation that cannot be expressed when it

is said that men who join hands with physicians, and are surrounded by experts to teach them the facts, have no right to make inferences. Men educated and put into professorships to discuss as a specialty the relation of religion and science have no right to discuss these themes! We have a right as lawyers to discuss such topics before juries, when we bring experts in to help us. I bring experts before you as a jury. I assert the right of Andover and Princeton and New Haven and Edinburgh, and even of this humble platform, to tell you what God does in the brain, and to exhibit to you the freshest discoveries there of both his mercy and wrath. [Applause.]

My support of the temperance reform, I would base upon the following propositions: —

1. Scars in the flesh do not wash out nor grow out; but, in spite of the change of all the particles of the body, are accurately reproduced without alteration by the flux of its particles.

Let us begin with an incontrovertible proposition. Everybody knows that the scars of childhood are retained through life, and that we are buried with them. But we carry into the grave no particle of the flesh that we had in youth. All the particles of the body are in flux, and are changed every few years. There is, however, something that persists. I am I; and therefore I am praiseworthy or blameworthy for things I did a score of years since, although there is not a particle of my body here now that was here then. The sense of identity, persisting in all the flux of the particles of the system, proves there is

something else in man besides matter. This is a very unsubstantial consideration, you say; but the acute and profound Hermann Lotze finds, in this one fact of the persistence of the sense of identity in spite of the flux of the particles of the body, the proof of the separateness of matter and mind.

Something reproduces these scars as the system throws off and changes its particles. That something must have been affected by the scarring. There is a strange connection between scars and the immaterial portion of man. It is a mysterious fact, right before us daily, and absolutely incontrovertible, that something in that part of us which does not change reproduces these scars. Newton, when the apple fell on his head, — according to the fable, for I suppose that story is not history, — found in it the law of the universe; and so in the simple fact that scars will not wash out nor grow out, although the particles of the flesh are all changed, we find two colossal propositions: the one is, that there is somewhat in us that does not change, and is not matter; the other is, that this somewhat is connected mysteriously with the inerasibility of scars, which therefore may be said to exist in some sense in the spiritual, as well as in the material, substance of which we are made.

2. It is as true of scars on the brain and nervous system, as of those on any less important parts of the body, that they will not wash out, nor grow out.

3. Scars on the brain or nervous system may be made by physical or mental habits, and are the bases of the self-propagative power of habits.

4. When the scars or grooves in which a habit runs are made deep, the habit becomes automatic or self-acting, and perhaps involuntary.

5. The grooves worn, or scars made, by good and bad habits, may be inherited.

Physical identity of parent and offspring, spiritual identity of parent and offspring, — these mysteries we have discussed here; and this twofold identity is concerned in the transmission of the thirst for drink. When a drunkard who has had an inflamed stomach is the father of a child that brings into the world with it an inflamed stomach, you have a case of the transmission of alcoholic scars.

6. While self-control lasts, a bad habit is a vice: when self-control is lost, a bad habit is a disease.

7. When a bad habit becomes a disease, the treatment of it belongs to physicians: while it is a vice, the treatment of it belongs to the Church.

8. In probably nine cases out of ten among the physical difficulties produced by the use of alcohol, and not inherited, the trouble is a vice, and not a disease.

9. Alcohol, by its affinity for water, hardens all the albuminous or glue-like substances in the body.

10. It thus paralyzes the small nerves, produces arterial relaxation, and deranges the circulation of the blood.

11. It produces thus an increased quickness in the beating of the heart, and a ruddiness of countenance which are not signs of health, but of disease.

Pardon me if I dwell a moment on this proposi-

tion, which was not made clear by science until a few years ago. You say that moderate drinking quickens the pulse, and adds ruddiness to the countenance, and that, therefore, you have some reason to believe that it is a source of health. There are five or six chemical agents which produce paralysis of the vessels of the minute circulation, and among them is alcohol. I have a list of them before me; and it includes ether, and the whole series of nitrites, and especially the nitrite of amyl. If I had the latter substance here, I might, by lifting it to the nostrils, produce this flushing of the face that you call a sign of health in moderate drinking. A blush is produced by a slight paralysis of the small nerves in the interlacing ends of the arteries and veins. If I had ether here, and could turn it out on the back of my hand, and evaporate it, I could partially freeze the skin, and then, removing the ether, you would see a blush come to the back of the hand; that is because the little nerves that help constrict and keep up the proper tone of the circulating organs are temporarily paralyzed. A permanent blush in the face of a drunkard indicates a permanent injury to the blood-vessels by alcohol. The varicose vein is often produced in this way by the paralysis of some of the nerves which are connected with the fine parts of the circulatory organs. When the face blushes permanently in the drunkard, the injury revealed is not a local one, but is inflicted on every organ throughout the whole system.

After moderate drinking you feel the heart beat-

ing faster, to be sure; but it beats more rapidly because of the paralysis of the delicate nerves connected with the arteries, and because of the consequent arterial relaxation. The blood meets with less resistance in passing through the relaxed circulatory organs; and so, with no additional force in the heart, that organ beats more rapidly. It beats faster simply because it has less force to overcome. The quickened pulse is a proof of disease, and not of health. (See DR. RICHARDSON, *Cantor Lectures on Alcohol.*)

12. Alcohol injures the blood by changing the color and chemical composition of its corpuscles.

In the stereopticon illustrations you saw that the red disks of blood are distorted in shape by the action of alcohol. You saw that the arrangement of the coloring matter in the red disks was changed. You saw that various adulterations appeared to come into the blood, or at least into visibility there, under the influence of alcohol. Lastly you saw, most terrible of all, an absolutely new growth occurring there, — a sprout protruding itself from the side of the red corpuscle in the vital stream. Last year I showed you what some of the diseases of leprosy did for the blood; and you see now how closely alcoholism in the blood resembles in physical effects the most terrific diseases known to man.

Here are the diseases which are the great red seal of God Almighty's wrath against sensuality; and when we apply the microscope to them we find in the blood-disks these sprouts, that greatly resemble each other,

in the inebriate and in the leper. Dr. Harriman has explained, with the authority of an expert, these ghastly growths. After having been called before jury after jury as an expert, sometimes in cases where life was at stake, he tells you that he has studied alcoholized blood, and that a certain kind of spore, a peculiar sort of sprout, which you have seen here, he never saw except in the veins of a confirmed drunkard. These sprouts shoot out of the red disks. I think the day is coming when, by microscopical examination of the blood-disks, we can tell what disease a man has inherited or acquired, if it be one of that kind which takes hold of the circulatory fluid.

This alcohol, with its affinity for water, changes the composition of every substance in the body into which water enters, and there are seven hundred and ninety parts of water in every thousand of blood. The reason alcohol changed this white of an egg into such hardness, that if it had been put in whole I could have rolled it across the platform, was that the fierce spirit took the water out of the albumen. If I had a plate of glass here, and could put upon it a solution of the white of an egg, and could sprinkle upon it a little finely powdered caustic soda, I could very soon pick up the sheet of gelatinous substance, and should find it leathery, elastic, tough. Just so this marvellous white matter folded in sheets in the brain, the drunkard drenches with a substance which takes out the water; and the effect on the brain is to destroy its capacity to perform some of its most delicate actions. The results of that physical incapacity

are illustrated in all the proverbial effects of intemperance.

13. The deteriorations produced in the blood by alcohol are peculiarly injurious to the brain on account of the great quantity of blood sent to that organ.

The brain weighs only about one twenty-eighth of the rest of the body; and yet into it, according to most authorities, is sent from a tenth to a sixth of all the blood. If you adopt fiat-money, where will the most harm be done? What part of this land shows first of all the effect of a debased condition of the currency? Wall Street. Why? Because there the circulation is most vigorous. The blood of the land, to speak of money under that title, is thrown into Wall Street as the blood of the body is thrown into the head; and so in Wall Street we have our men on the watch to tell us whether the currency is in a healthy or unhealthy state. The slightest alteration is felt there, because the currency there is accumulated; and so in the brain the slightest injury of the blood is felt first, because here is accumulated the currency of the system.

14. Most poisons and medicines act in the human system according to a law of local affinity by which their chief force is expended on particular organs, the and sometimes on particular spots of particular organs.

15. All science is agreed that the local affinity of alcohol, like that of opium, prussic acid, hasheesh, belladonna, &c., is for the brain.

16. The brain is the organ of the mind, and the temple and instrument of conduct and character.

17. Whatever disorganizes brain disorganizes mind and character, and whatever disorganizes mind and character disorganizes society.

18. The local affinity of alcohol for the brain, therefore, exempts it, in its relations to government, from the list of articles which have no such affinity, and gives to government the right, in self-defence, to interfere by the prohibitory regulation of its sale as a beverage. [Applause.]

19. It is not sufficient to prove that alcohol is not a poison, to overthrow the scientific basis of prohibitory laws.

20. Intemperance and cerebral injury are so related that even moderate indulgence is inseparably connected with intellectual and moral disintonement.

21. In this circumstance, and in the inerasibility and frequent hereditary transmission of the scars produced by the local affinity of alcohol for the brain, the principle of total abstinence finds its justification by advanced thought. [Applause.]

Nothing in science is less questioned than the law of local affinities by which different substances taken into the system exert their chief effect at particular localities. Lead, for example, fastens first upon the muscles of the wrist, producing what is known among painters and white-lead manufacturers as a wrist drop. Manganese seizes upon the liver, iodine upon the lymphatic glands, chromate of potash upon the lining membrane of the eyelids, mercury upon the salivary glands and mouth. Oil of tobacco paralyzes the heart. Arsenic inflames the mucous membranes of

the alimentary passages. Strychnine takes effect upon the spinal cord. Now, as all chemists admit, the local affinity of alcohol is for the brain. Dr. Lewis describes a case in which the alcohol could not be detected in the fluid of the brain-cavities, nor, indeed, in any part of the body, but was obtained by distillation from the substance of the brain itself. Dr. Percy distilled alcohol in large quantities from the substance of the brains of animals killed by it, when only small quantities could be found in the blood or other parts of the systems of the same animals. Dr. Kirk mentions a case in which the brain liquid of a man who died in intoxication smelt very strongly of whiskey, and when some of it was taken in a spoon, and a candle put beneath it, the fluid burned with a lambent blue flame. But brain is the organ of the mind. Dr. Bucknill ("Habitual Drinking") quotes Forbes Winslow as having testified before a committee of Parliament that the liquid dipped from the brain of an habitual inebriate can thus be burned. Whatever is a disorganizer of the brain is a disorganizer of mind, and whatever is a disorganizer of mind is a disorganizer of society. It is from this point of view that the right of government to prevent the manufacture of madmen and paupers can be best seen. I care not what men make of the famous recent experiments of Lallemand, Perrin, and Duroy of France, by which half of the medical profession, including Dr. Carpenter, has been carried over to the support of the propositions that alcohol is eliminated from the system in totality and in na-

ture; is never transformed and never destroyed in the organism; is not food; and is essentially a poison. I care not, on the other hand, what men make of the proposition Mr. Lewes defends, that alcohol may be a negative food. The local affinity of alcohol for the brain! This is a great fact. It is a fact uncontroverted. It is a fact sufficient. It is a fact to be heeded even in legislation.

Among the well-known authorities on the influence of alcohol on the human brain, Dr. W. B. Carpenter and Dr. B. W. Richardson of England are now in entire accord with Professor Youmans and Dr. W. E. Greenfield of the United States, in recommending total abstinence. Dr. Richardson's Cantor Lectures have been followed by a volume on "Total Abstinence;" and he gives to Dr. Carpenter's views on this subject his full assent and final adhesion, having learned at last, he says, "how solemnly right they are." In 1869 Dr. Richardson began to abstain from wine, by limiting his use of it to festal occasions; but still more recently he has abandoned its use altogether.

The graduates of Amherst College met at the Parker House in Boston some years ago; and, although wineglasses were placed at the side of the plates, not one of them was filled. Niagara itself, a recent traveller in the United States says, is not as worthy of description to Englishmen as the pure array of goblets with ice-water at the usual dinners at hotels. Mrs. Hayes has expelled intoxicating beverages from the Presidential mansion.

The latest investigators of the influence of alcohol

on the brain are Schulinus, Anstie, Dupré, Labottin, and Binz. The latter, in a series of remarkable articles published in the "Practitioner" in 1876, maintains that a portion of every dose of alcohol is burned in the system, and yet he considers the use of alcohol in health as entirely superfluous. The experimenters agree with the majority of physicians, that in the army and navy, and for use among healthy persons, alcohol, even as a ration strictly limited to a moderate quantity, is physiologically useless and generally harmful.

Upon different portions of the brain, the action of alcohol can be distinctly traced by medical science and even by common observation. The brain, it will be remembered, is divided into three parts. The upper, which comprises the larger portion, and which is supposed to be the seat of the intellectual and moral faculties, is called the *cerebrum*. Below that, and at the back of the organ, is another mass, called the *cerebellum*, parts of which are believed to control the contractions of the muscles in portions of the body. Still lower is the *medulla oblongata*, which presides over the nerves of respiration. Now, the action of alcohol can be distinctly marked upon all these different parts of the brain. The moral and intellectual faculties are first jarred out of order in the progress of intoxication. The tippler laughs and sings, is talkative and jocose, coarse or eloquent to almost any degree, according to his temperament. The cerebrum is first affected. His judgment becomes weak; he is incapable of making a good bargain or of de-

fending his own rights intelligently; but he does not yet stagger: he is as yet only a moderate drinker. The effect of moderate drinking, however, is to weaken the judgment, and to destroy the best powers of the will and intellect. But he takes another glass; and the cerebellum, which governs several of the motions of the body, is affected, and now he begins to stagger. He loses all control of his muscles, and plunges headlong against post and pavement. One more glass, and the *medulla oblongata* is poisoned. This organ controls the nerves which order the movements of the lungs, and now occurs that hard breathing and snoring which is seen in dead drunkenness. This stoppage is caused by impure blood so poisoning the *medulla oblongata* that it can no longer perform its duties. The cerebrum and cerebellum now seem to have their action entirely suspended, and sometimes the respiratory movements stop forever, and the man dies by asphyxia in the same manner as by drowning, strangling, or narcotic poisoning by any other substance. (See Professor FERRIER, *The Localization of Cerebral Disease*. London, 1878.)

Who shall say where end the consequences of alcoholic injury of the blood and of the substance of the brain? Here within the cranium, in this narrow chamber, so small that a man's hand may span it, and upon this sheet of cerebral matter, which, if dilated out, would not cover a surface of over six hundred square inches, is the point of union between spirit and matter. Inversions of right judgment, and every distortion of moral sense, legitimately follow from

the intoxicating cup. It is here that we should speak decidedly of the influence of moderate drinking. Men may theorize as they please, but practically there is in average experience no such thing as a moderate dose of alcohol. People drink it to produce an effect. They take enough to "fire up," as they say, and unless that effect is produced they are not satisfied. They will have enough to raise their spirits, or dissipate gloom; and this is enough to impair judgment, and perhaps in the course of years to ruin fortune, body, and soul. The compass is out of line in life's dangerous sea, and a few storms may bring the ship upon breakers.

It is to be remembered, that, by the law of local affinity, the dose of alcohol is not diffused throughout the system, but is concentrated in its chief effects upon a single organ. When a man drinks moderately, though the effects might be minute if dispersed through the whole body, yet they may be powerful when most of them are gathered upon the brain. They may be dangerous when turned upon the intellect, and even fatal when concentrated upon the primal guiding powers of mind, — reason and moral sense. It is not to the whole body that a moderate glass goes: it is chiefly to the most important part, — the brain; and not to the whole brain, but to its most important part, — the seat of the higher mental and moral powers; and not to these powers at large, but to their helmsman and captain, — Reason and Conscience.

"Ship ahoy! All aboard! Let your one shot

come," shouts the sailor to the pirate craft. Now, one shot will not shiver a big ship's timbers much; but suppose that this one ball were to strike the captain through the heart, and the helmsman through the skull, and that there are none to fill their posts: it would be a terrible shot indeed. Moderate drinking is a charmed ball from a pirate craft; it does not lodge in the beams' ends; it cuts no mast; it shivers no plank between wind and water; it strikes no sailor or under-officer: but with magic course it seeks the heart of the captain and the arms of the helmsman, and it always hits. These leaders dead, and none to take their place, the crew are powerless against the enemy. Thunders another broadside from the pirate Alcohol, and what is the effect? Every ball is charmed: not one of the crew is killed; but every one becomes mad, and raises mutiny. Commanders dead, they are free. Another broadside from the pirate; and the charmed balls complete their work. The mutinous crew rage with insanity. Captain Conscience and Steersman Reason are picked up, and, lest their corpses should offend the crazy sailors, pitched overboard. Then rages Jack Lust from one end of the ship to the other. That brave tar, Midshipman Courage, who, in his right mind, was the bravest defender of the ship, now wheels the cannon against his own friends, and rakes the deck with red-hot grape, until every mast totters with shot-holes. The careful stewards, seamen Friendship and Parental Love, whose exertions have always heretofore provided the crew seasonably

with food and drink, now refuse to cook, furnish no meals, unhead the water-casks, waste the provisions, and break the ship's crockery. The vessel has wheeled into the trough of the sea; a black shadow approaches swiftly over the waters, and the compass and helm are deserted. That speculating mate, Love of Money, who, if sober, would see the danger, and order every rag down from jib to mainsail, and make the ship scud under bare poles before the black squall, now, on the contrary, orders up every sail, and spreads every thread of canvas. The rising storm whistles in the rigging, but he does not hear it. That black shadow on the water is swiftly nearing: he does not see it. In the trough of the sea the ship rocks like a cockle-shell: he does not feel it. Yonder, before the dense rush of the coming blow of air, rises a huge wave, foaming and gnawing and groaning on high: he does not hear it. With a shock like the opening of an earthquake it strikes the broadside; with a roar it washes over the deck; three snaps like cannon, and the heavily-rigged masts are gone; a lurch and sucking-in of waves, and the hold is full of water, and the sinking ship just survives the first heavy sea. Then comes out Mirthfulness, and sits astride the broken bowsprit, and strikes up a dancing tune. The crew dance! It were possible, even yet, to so man the pumps, and right the helm, as to ride over the swells, and drive into port; but all action for the right government of the ship is ended. Trumpeter Language mounts the shattered beams of the forecastle, and makes an oration: it is not necessary

to work, he tells the crew, but to hear him sputter yarns.

It is fearful now to look upon the raging of the black sea. Every moment the storm increases in fury. As a giant would toss about a straw, so the waves handle the wrecked timbers. Night gathers her blackness into the rifted clouds, and the strong moaning sound of the storm is heard on the dark ocean. By that glare of lightning I saw a sail and a life-boat! Men from another ship are risking their lives to save the insane crew whose masts are gone. They come nearer, but the boat bounds and quivers, and is nearly swamped upon the top of a wave. Jack Courage and Independence see the boat coming. "Ship ahoy!" shout the deliverers. "Life-boat from the ship Temperance: quit your wreck, and be saved." No reply. Independence grinds his teeth, and growls to Jack Courage that the offer of help is an insult. "I will tell you how to answer," says Jack, stern and bloody. There is one cannon left with a dry charge. They wheel that upon the approaching boat, and Independence holds the linstock over the fuse-hole. "Life-boat for sailors on the wreck," shouts Philanthropy, from the approaching boat. "What answer, ship Immortal?" Then shoots from the ringing gun a tongue of flame, and ten pounds of iron are on their way. The Temperance boat rocks lower from the wave-top, and the deadly reply just grazes the heads of the astounded philanthropists, and buries itself heavily in their own ship beyond. It was an accident, they think, and keep

on, board the ship, and stand upon its deck. Then flash from their scabbards a dozen swords; then click the locks of a dozen muskets; then double the palms of a dozen fists; then shake the clubs of a dozen maniac arms, and the unsuspecting deliverers are murdered on the deck they came to save. As the lightning glares I see them thrown into the sea, while thunders are the dirge of the dead and the damnation of the murderers.

The drunken ship is fast filling with water. Not a man at the pumps, not an arm at the helm. Having destroyed their friends, the crew fall upon each other. Close under their bow rave the breakers of a rocky shore, but they hear it not. At intervals they seem to realize their condition, and their power even yet to save themselves, but they make no effort. Gloom and storm and foam shut them up against hell with many thunders. In this terrible extremity Independence is heard to refuse help, and boasts of his strength. Friendship and Parental Love rail at thoughts of affection. Language trumpets his easy yarns, and grows garrulous as the timbers crack one after another. Rage and Revenge are now the true names of Firmness and Courage. Silly Mirth yet giggles a dance, and I saw him astride the last timber as the ship went down, tossing foam at the lightning. Then came a sigh of the storm, a groaning of waves, a booming of blackness, and a red, crooked thunderbolt shot wrathfully blue into the suck of the sea where the ship went down.

And I asked the names of those rocks, and was told: God's stern and immutable Laws.

And I asked the name of that ship, and they said: Immortal Soul.

And I asked why its crew brought it there, and they said: Their captain Conscience and helmsman Reason were dead.

And I asked how they died, and they said: By one single shot from the pirate Alcohol; by one charmed ball of Moderate Drinking!

On this topic, over which we sleep, we shall some day cease to dream. [Applause.]

X.

SOCIALISM, TEMPERANCE, AND WOMAN'S VOTE.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 17.

Let woman's rights come by evolution and not by revolution. — HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

A glory shines before me
Of what mankind shall be,
Pure, generous, brave, and free;
A dream of man and woman,
Diviner, but still human,
Solving the riddle old,
Shaping the Age of Gold.
Ring, bells in unreared steeples,
The joy of unborn peoples!
Sound, trumpets far-off blown:
Your triumph is my own.

WHITTIER.

X.

SOCIALISM, TEMPERANCE, AND WOMAN'S VOTE.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

VOLTAIRE said of the English people, what might be said of any large collection of human beings, that they are like a glass of beer, — the top froth, the bottom dregs, the middle excellent. This, of course, is speech not likely to be popular under republican institutions; but America is old enough to hear the truth, that we have a fashion-hunting, self-styled upper class which is froth, and, in our great towns, a stratum of society ignorant and unprincipled, which is fitly enough typified by the dregs at the bottom of the cup. Opposition to high schools in the United States comes as yet chiefly from the froth and the dregs, and not from the middle of the cup of our population. But up and down through the middle portion there begins to shoot a strange yeast, thrown into the liquid, as I think, by a foreign priesthood. If once that yeast shall connect itself with the upper froth and the lower dregs in such a way as

to draw the two together, and make cloudy the whole liquid; or if, in other words, caste, penuriousness, and Jesuitism become allies, and attack the common-school system, — God knows what may be the result in American civilization!

A Jesuit school history of the United States has lately been written by Hassard, the assistant editor of "The New York Tribune." He is the author of a life of Archbishop Hughes and of Pius IX. He was once the editor of "The Catholic World." He was also one of the editors of the "New American Cyclopædia," which, Professor Hitchcock says, has been tampered with in all the passages it contains relating to Romanism. Hassard's school history, which I now hold in my hands, is published under the imprimatur of the Catholic Publication Society (9 Barclay Street, New York). The book closes with a chapter in which the statement is made, that Catholics at the opening of our national career were only one in one hundred and twenty of the population, but that they are now one in six. In view of this rapid growth of the Romish Church, Bishop Spalding says, in his introduction to the volume, that "he who will do most to form the character of the Catholic youth of America will also have done most to mould the future of the American people." Turn Hassard's book over cursorily, and the illustrations show you that it is of Jesuit origin. Here are pictures with Romish emblems in them; and when you look into the book you find our Puritan fathers treated with not a little scorn, and many misstatements of a grave

character made concerning them. Everywhere the Jesuit fathers are eulogized as if they were the founders of America. (Compare pp. 57, 67, 83, 101, 104, 130, 244, 306, and 377.)

This Jesuit school history of the United States is only one of a series of young Catholics' text-books which I find advertised in the Catholic Year-book. (*Sadlier's Catholic Directory, Almanac, and Ordo for 1879*, p. 24: D. and J. Sadlier and Co., 31 Barclay Street, New York.) Here are seven illustrated readers, as to which we are assured that "the young Catholics' series of readers is thoroughly Catholic in all its lessons." We have here also Catholic spellers, and even Catholic arithmetics. I do not know what expurgations Jesuits propose to make in the multiplication-table. Of course there are Catholic historical catechisms, and here are four schoolbooks on ancient and modern history, every one of them adapted from the French of Father Gazeau.

In its Ecclesiastical Summary for 1879, the Catholic Directory tells us that in the United States, in the Catholic Church, there are 11 archbishops, 52 bishops, 5,750 priests, 5,589 churches, 2,183 chapels and stations, 23 theological seminaries, 1,155 ecclesiastical students, 78 colleges, 577 academies and select schools, 1,958 parish schools, 242 asylums, 103 hospitals, and a Catholic population of 6,375,630.

What is the attitude of this vast body of ecclesiastics toward the American common-school system? Precisely that of the papal syllabus. I do not assail the Romish laity; but the aim of the Romish priest-

hood, and especially of Jesuit educators, is to sow disaffection everywhere against all schools not under the predominant control of the Romish Church. At Pittsburg, lately, a high school came near being abolished through the influence of three Jesuits on the daily press of that city. All the Jesuits in America are under the control of one man at Washington. The Navy Department, in spite of its present Protestant head, is so filled with Romish officers that it is commonly called the Catholic department. Italian Jesuits, driven out of Victor Emmanuel's kingdom, planted themselves a few years ago in New Mexico. They have so controlled legislation there that lately a bill passed Congress annulling a Romish law in this Territory. The vicar-general of New Mexico issued an official notice to the press, urging editors not to favor the American common schools. The vicar-general of Boston, in a public lecture in this city, March 12, said, "The attitude of the Catholic Church toward the public schools of this country, so far as we can determine from" — what? From the necessities of the case? From American public sentiment? From constitutions adopted here by our own population? No. "The attitude of the Catholic Church, so far as we can determine from papal documents, the decrees of the council of Baltimore, and the pastorals of several bishops, is one of non-approval of the system itself, of censure of the manner of conducting them that prevails in most places, and of solemn admonition to pastors and parents to guard against the dangers to faith and

morals arising from frequenting them." (*Report in Advertiser* of March 13.) Father Phelan of St. Louis affirmed not long ago, with high ecclesiastical approval, that he would as soon send his children into a pesthouse as into the public schools.

When, moving as your outlook committee, and glad to act in that capacity, I go from side to side of the Mississippi Valley, and come back, and make a report, in which I include Pittsburg and Cincinnati, and St. Louis and Louisville, I am sometimes told by local editors who travel little that there is no great opposition to high schools among Romanists — in sight from Beacon Hill! I do not speak of Romanists at large, but of a foreign priesthood. The field of view I would keep before you is not New England, but the nation. Now and then even a Protestant religious paper opposes high schools in a local contest, and is apparently blind to the wider horizons of the national outlook. A religious denominational journal is much like a box-turtle: it not only has not equal sensitiveness to its environment in every direction, but in several directions it has no sensitiveness at all to the signs of the times. You cannot get out of it the truth as to other denominations, and not always as to its own. The denominational editor, who is merely such, needs to travel in order to fit himself to fill the position of an outlook committee. [Applause.] I am not assailing the whole religious press, for a part of that of Boston and New York is emphasizing vigorously the danger of the attack now making on the high schools in the

United States. But, face to face with the unnoticed signs of Romish conspiracy against the high schools, I find a part of Protestant religious journalism fanning the disaffection of an ignorant portion of our population against these same institutions. I turn to that fragment of the religious press, and say, *Et tu, Brute!* The youth of the land are here stabbed as Cæsar was, by a hand from which there was just expectation of succor.

The president of Colorado College issued, March 15, a very significant circular on Jesuit educators in America; and here are a few of its incisive sentences: "The statement in the Boston Monday Lecture of Monday, Feb. 24, 1879, to the effect that there is a wide-spread and systematic opposition to American high schools, on the part of foreign priests, is correct. In Colorado the Romanists are doing far more than all other Christian denominations. In their principal convent, five-sevenths of the pupils are from Protestant families. They have made great strides in California, having five colleges for young men and two academies for young women, with a hundred and four papal professors, and numbering in 1876 more pupils by a thousand than were enrolled in 1870 in all the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal schools, military academies, State normal schools, and the California University. The Jesuits are now planning systematically to gain political control in the Republic. The Papacy has always sought temporal power, but the political scheming of the Jesuits has made them intolerable

to civilized States. Even Brazil turned them out in 1874; and in the petty Romish States of Central America it was expressly stipulated, in a treaty between Guatemala and San Salvador, that the latter State should expel the Jesuits. Jesuitism is not Romanism. Protestants ought to gain the best Romanists by uncovering the plots of the Jesuits, and building against them." (*Circular of Colorado College*, by President E. P. TENNEY.)

It is no pleasure for me to call attention to this conspiracy; but it is my duty to do so, however much unpopularity I may incur. [Applause.] If it shall please Providence to show me the sand-lots and the shores of the Pacific, I shall have no greater delight than to act as your outlook committee at the Golden Gate. If it shall please Providence to show me Salt Lake City and any evils there, I shall have no greater delight than to act, as I have for the last four years, as your studious flying scout. It is my fortune or misfortune to go up and down the land: I cannot avoid doing so in the work Providence puts upon me; and I see public men frequently; I meet many kinds of public authorities; and I believe the president of Colorado College is right when he calls public attention to this conspiracy in words which experience is likely to justify in another half-century in a manner which will awaken all the people. You will thank us then if you look back to our early warning on the topic, and you will curse us then if you find that we were gagged by any fear of unpopularity. [Applause.]

My conviction is that primary education merely is not enough to prepare citizens for the duties of their career in the United States. [Applause.] President Eliot said in New York, not long ago, that merely primary education never has saved a people from the political dangers of universal suffrage, and probably never will. When George Combe was in this city he thought that the education your Boston schools gave to the average citizens was only about enough to prepare them for the amount of political power the masses of the people have in Prussia and Austria. We must in some way give large numbers of the population an education such that they can intelligently direct their own training. I hold that a man who has not been through more than the primary school does not know how to select his own reading very profitably. Seven times out of ten, he may mistake bad reading for good, and may easily be misled by plausible demagogues, not only in politics, but in religion. [Applause.] He may be misled in science itself, if he has not enough education to enable him to sift books, and turn to the best leadership with some confidence that he has chosen right. The rich do not depend on the high schools: they can take advantage of our best endowed academies; they can pay for the very best instruction in private schools. But our great middle class must be moulded by the high-school system or not at all into sympathy with the best thought of the age and the best public leaders. If you break the link of good secondary education, there will be no connection between your best thought

and the masses of the people. It will be exceedingly hard to make your best thinkers sympathize with the people, and yet more hard to make the people sympathize with your best thinkers. It is the glory of the American civilization, that her secondary education brings into sympathy with each other the masses and the best-trained minds; and when that sympathy ceases you will have opened a dyke, and through the gap God only knows what surges of salt and bitterness may burst across the land! I regard the high school, next to the Church, as the chief barrier against communistic and socialistic inroads from the howling sea of an ignorant and unprincipled population. [Applause.] Give me the high school under generally Christian influences, give me good secondary education in the United States, give me developed thoughtfulness in the masses, and I have little fear of the irruption of socialism and communism. The Church will then be able to grapple with the difficulties which threaten our future. But if you allow the people to petrify under merely parochial schools, nobody can reach the masses of the population except the ecclesiastic, and he only the part of the mass that lies nearest to him. Give New England only the parochial Romish schools in her manufacturing populations, and in a century her factory-towns will become a New Ireland. She is a New Ireland already in some city wards. [Applause.]

You say it is a socialistic principle I am defending, and that the rich ought not to be called on to help the poor beyond the wishes of the rich. The

socialistic principle is, let everybody be helped by the state: the co-operative principle is, help those who cannot help themselves. When you give State aid to the high school, you are only taking the necessary steps to make safe and permanent the liberties of American citizenship. State aid to high schools is no more socialistic than State aid to military, naval, and agricultural schools. You have State universities, but I am not asking you to open colleges freely to everybody. I am not supposing that we are to open technical schools to everybody; but I should advocate opening them to every one who can pay a small tuition-fee. The demand for education is in an inverse intensity to the need of it. There will very soon be an attack made on the industrial and technical and agricultural, and perhaps against military and naval schools aided by government, if we allow the thoughtless clamor against State aid to high schools to go unrebuked. If we permit a suspension of the activities of the high schools, very soon this liquid in the cup of our civilization will grow cloudy from top to bottom. A certain order of rich men believe in caste, and do not like taxes for high schools. Already the whisper grows loud in the Southern States, that the money of whites must not support high schools for black men. This is the opinion on the Gulf, not of a majority as yet, but of a powerful minority. "We must not give equal educational facilities to the blacks and whites," — that is the cry of a very powerful party in the South. The foam of aristocracy in the old slave States is at the top of the cup; the

dregs of the Northern city populations are at the bottom; and the two are manipulated by this priestly yeast shooting from the one to the other. What I fear is the ultimate cloudiness of the whole cup, and such cloudiness that God's light cannot shoot through it and enlighten us when we need inner illumination.

In the American common schools we have a lower story, and in our colleges an upper story, of national culture. Our political safety requires that we should make our high schools a broad and free staircase between the two, and not allow Jesuitism, caste, or penuriousness to bar any part of our people from the ascending steps.

Cotton Mather's bones lie yonder on Copp's Hill. If the Romanists were to dig them up, and cast them into the sea, and found above the grave a cathedral, the nation would be roused. Jesuitical text-books used for the instruction of six millions of our population are a spade which digs up our fathers' bones, and casts them forth to bleach under the winds of ridicule, and founds upon the spot where they lie the basis of a purely sectarian propagandism. Am I to be blamed for opening my lips here when the whispers of this conspiracy fill all the hissing dark around me? Look into the corners, look beneath the surface of American civilization; and at the same time from afar keep your eyes upon the beacon of a united citizenship and of that universal theocracy, the hope of founding which led, as a pillar of cloud and fire, our fathers through the wilderness of our early history. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Near the grave of Lincoln, a magnificent State House has lately been invaded by an army of mothers and daughters who brought with them a petition almost a mile in length, and which now hangs in festoons around the Legislative Chamber of Illinois. It contained the signatures of one hundred and ten thousand persons, who ask, not for the granting of the ballot to women in regard to the political multiplex and maelstrom of party activity; not for municipal and town suffrage for woman; and not even for a vote for her concerning the education of her children, although this has already been granted to her by New Hampshire, a conservative New England State. This petition is for a narrower right, and a far more restricted opportunity. Its strength is in its moderation. It asks, only, that when local option in any town or city is to be exercised as to temperance-laws, women of legal age, who fulfil the other conditions required of male voters, may be allowed to express their opinion on the simple and not at all bewildering inquiry whether liquor shall be sold or not.

You say that we have already enough ignorant suffrage. You affirm that we have a dangerously extensive tract of absenteeism at the polls and of unused ballots in every election. With John Bright, you are horrified at the carelessness of voters as to the use of their political powers. It may be that you secretly believe that the natural operation of uni-

versal suffrage, except in great cases when all the voters come out, is to lift the scoundrel class to the summit of affairs. You think that I am about to make an insidious plea in favor of the driving of an entering-wedge for woman's suffrage into the riven oak of American institutions, and that manhood suffrage has already shown itself to be a mischievous glut that may tear that oak into splinters of such shape that they never can be hewn into fit building-material for permanent political architecture. You are prejudiced against the position I am about to take this morning, because you suppose I stand here to defend woman-suffrage at large, or that I am at least to claim for women a right to vote in all municipal and town affairs.

It is true that here and now I have no opposition to offer to woman's demand for the right to vote in city elections; but the absence of opposition must not be taken for entire acquiescence in even the bill which a majority in the Massachusetts legislature under the gilded dome yonder has recommended as to municipal suffrage for women. As represented by the majority of her legislative committee, that lately held a hearing on the topic of the largest application of women's suffrage to political affairs, Massachusetts recommends a constitutional amendment admitting women not only to the right to vote, but to the right to hold office. Unless the men on that committee are absolutely insane in opening the whole door, unless they are to be sent to the lunatic-asylum for swinging the gates before woman's suffrage open

to the utmost, you must not think me utterly wild for opening them hardly far enough to enable you to see that the gates are ajar.

Woman's suffrage is asked for by its friends because in their opinion it is a natural right, a civil right, and for the benefit of society. It is on the latter ground only that the demand for woman's vote in questions as to temperance-laws is made. This latter is by far the most defensible of the three positions.

Even with conservative men I claim a hearing on the ground of the comparative moderation and sobriety of my plea. I open the gate to woman's suffrage only as far as England has done; I open it only as far as Scotland has done. No, I do not open it as far; I open it less widely than England does, for she gives to tax-paying women the right to vote in municipal and town affairs. [Applause.] I am asking for less than that. But I am not criticising England. I am not criticising the majority of this Massachusetts committee. With his Excellency the Governor of this honored Commonwealth, I believe that so many are in favor of a constitutional amendment permitting woman-suffrage in its fullest range, that the time has come when the opinion of the people at large ought to be asked as to the propriety of making such an amendment. [Applause.] You say it is a dangerous entering-wedge to ask the people what they think about that amendment. But, you believe in the people, do you not? You are willing, many of you, although you are opposed to women's suffrage at

large, to have the question go to the people on that amendment. I am sure I am willing to have that done, and I am meditating as to which way I will vote. If the narrower proposition came before me, to give women the right to vote in municipal and town affairs, I should have far less hesitation than in regard to the wide, large measure.

On the vexed theme of female suffrage, you know that my principle is that women's rights should come by evolution and not by revolution. I want a little of women's rights tried first, and then if the experience is bad we can go back on our track. If the experience is good we can go forward. Let us be conservative, but let us not be unimprovable. I repel indignantly the insinuations of any who think that I am making a plea for woman's temperance vote, with the hope of advancing woman's suffrage at large. If the nose of the camel enters the tent, his whole body will soon be in it, you say. Well, but there is a tiger in the tent already; and if the camel were to displace him we could spare a considerable amount of room! What I want is not an entering-wedge, but an appeal to experience. Divide the question as to woman's suffrage. There are many forms in which woman's ballot is asked for; as, for example, on all questions as to which men vote, or on municipal and town questions only, or on educational questions only, or on temperance questions only. Wyoming, with results which I believe to be good, has tried the first; New Hampshire has tried the third of these methods; Illinois is asked to try

the last. Massachusetts, without a constitutional amendment, might grant municipal suffrage to women. Judge Sewall says this can be done. We now require the same qualifications for town and city voters on the one hand, and for voters for state officers on the other hand; but the truth is, that we had one hundred and thirty-two years of experience in this Commonwealth of a different set of qualifications on those two points. For that extent of time, ending in the year 1822, the qualifications of town voters were always more liberal than those required by the charter and the Constitution for the former class. The qualifications for voters for state and town officers are now exactly the same; but now, as from the beginning, the former are regulated by the Constitution, and the latter by the General Court. (See Judge SEWALL'S argument, *Woman's Journal*, February, 1878.)

If the change does not require an amendment to the Constitution, municipal suffrage for women will be a very safe experiment. We can recede from it. If municipal suffrage for women were tried, we should have the evils of women's suffrage exhibited on a small scale, and then the opponents of the measure will be enabled to appeal to the record of experience against the enlargement of suffrage for women. If, on the other hand, this measure should act the other way, then God forbid that I should go against the law of the survival of the fittest! Where are the opponents of municipal suffrage for women, that they are not willing to try this experiment? They

say that families would be broken up, and that woman would cease to be lovable if she were to go to the polls. But woman has gone to the polls in Great Britain quite a while, and I have to announce here this morning that British families are not yet broken up. [Applause.] Woman has had the right for years, as a tax-payer of Great Britain, to vote in city and town elections, and the British fireside is yet ablaze. The granting of municipal suffrage in Great Britain to woman has not been accountable for any great amount of mischief. In Scotland woman has had certain rights as to educational laws, and we do not hear that she has been clamoring there for impossibilities. I believe that the experience of England has substantially justified the giving of the ballot to tax-paying women who are not represented by any head of a family. Under English law a woman who is married cannot be a tax-payer, for her property belongs to her husband. The gift of the vote to woman in England, when she is a tax-payer, is therefore somewhat in the nature of a gift to the head of a family as the representative of property. Even if you are not willing to introduce a property qualification in such form as England has adopted, still the substantial justice of the matter is the same on this as on the other side of the sea.

I am perfectly aware how complicated the question as to a property qualification for voting is in woman's case. Woman-suffragists themselves are not agreed as to the matter. Here are certain rich ladies, who pay high taxes. You give them a vote;

but perhaps they are no more qualified to use the suffrage intelligently than the school-mistress, who could hardly pay a poll-tax. [Applause.] The question is, whether we should not be introducing into society class distinctions and class animosities, if we were to adopt municipal suffrage for women on the basis of property qualifications not required of men. I am more than a little shy about such an innovation.

Municipal suffrage for women is saddled with a great number of difficulties which do not belong to this topic of temperance suffrage. The Illinois movement makes no appeals to class animosity.

Here is the language of the famous petition: —

FOR GOD, AND HOME, AND NATIVE LAND. HOME-PROTECTION PETITION.

ILLINOIS WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Illinois: —

Whereas, in these years of temperance work the argument of defeat in our contest with the saloons has taught us that our efforts are merely palliative of a disease in the body politic which can never be cured until law and moral suasion go hand in hand in our beloved State; and

Whereas, the instincts of self-protection and of apprehension for the safety of her children, her tempted loved ones, and her home, render woman the natural enemy of the saloons:

Therefore your petitioners, men and women of the State of Illinois, having at heart the protection of our homes from their worst enemy, the legalized traffic in strong drink, do hereby earnestly pray your honorable body that by suitable legislation it may be provided that in the State of Illinois the question of licensing at any time, in any locality, the sale of any and all

intoxicating drinks (including wine and beer) shall be submitted to and determined by ballot, in which women of lawful age shall be privileged to take part in the same manner as men when voting on the question of license.

The essential parts of the bill the Massachusetts legislature is asked to pass are these: —

"No licenses for the sale of spirituous or intoxicating liquors shall be granted, in any city or town, unless such city or town shall vote to authorize the issue thereof each year, as hereinafter provided. Provided, however, that licenses may be issued, in the discretion of the municipal authorities, to druggists and apothecaries to sell for medicinal, mechanical, and chemical purposes only.

"The vote shall be by ballot; and ballots shall be 'Yes' or 'No,' in answer to the question, 'Shall the mayor and aldermen (or selectmen) be authorized to grant licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors in this city (or town)?'

"Any woman possessing the other qualifications for voting, now established by law, may apply to one of the assessors of the city or town in which she has residence, to be assessed for a poll-tax, and shall be so assessed; and upon payment thereof she may apply to the proper board of registration of voters in such city or town, not later than the Saturday preceding such day of voting; and it shall be the duty of such board, upon being satisfied that she possesses the other qualifications required of voters, to place her name on the voting list for use at such meetings; and she shall continue to be so assessed each year until she shall otherwise request in writing; and so long as such qualifications continue to exist, she shall have at all meetings held under this act all the rights of a legally qualified voter.

"All licenses granted under the provisions of this act, and of the act of which this is an amendment, shall contain, in addition to the name of the licensee, the name of the owner of the premises upon which the business is to be carried on. The

clerk of each city and town shall keep a complete record of all licensees, with their bondsmen, and of the owners of the premises upon which the business is to be carried on, in each case, which record shall at all times be open to public inspection."

There are five States in our nation which are being brought up abreast of the line of this proposed legislation, and Massachusetts is one of the number. Legislatures have usually given a respectful hearing in favor of woman-suffrage on the temperance-vote. What is more significant, the advocates of this moderate measure have won friends occasionally from among their critics. I suppose that women in general are not in favor of the large application of woman-suffrage, or at least not yet; but I have information from North, South, East, and West, that this modified measure in regard to temperance-laws has their general support. All the names on record in favor of the wider measure are, of course, in favor of the narrower, and every defender of the former is a defender of the latter. The less is included in the greater.

In Chicago, two boys, one seven years and one eleven years of age, were made so drunk in a saloon that they rolled in the gutter. The widowed mother of another mere boy went to the spot of infamy, and drew her child out upon the sidewalk, and endeavored to walk home with him, but was herself thrust into the street. The saloon-keeper came out, tore the boy from the widow's embrace, and pushed him back into his den; and she went home weeping over the ruin of her son. A citizens' league took up the widow's cause, and succeeded in punishing the

brutish proprietor, and causing the boy to reform. An investigation has shown that more than a quarter of all the arrests in Chicago, and of the commitments to the house of correction, are of minors, twenty years old and under. The statement is published that thirty thousand boys and girls patronize the city's drinking-places, a thousand of which were largely supported by their patronage. The activity of the friends of temperance diminished the juvenile arrests for 1878 by two thousand, as compared with 1877; but the ruin of the young progresses yet at a fearful rate. What Miss Frances Willard wants, and what the women of Illinois who are petitioning the legislature at Lincoln's grave ask for, is that this widow may see the face of a just judge. The petition is that the widow who has her family to protect may herself be protected by the arm of her brethren in the State [applause], and that she may find the saloon-keeper put under a public ban, not only by the votes of the careless dwellers in the slums, and not only by the legislation of males, but by the swift thunderbolts of her own and of her sisters' indignation poured out upon those places where the family is undermined. [Applause.] That is what home-protection means in the concrete. That widow and these children mean not Chicago only, but New York and Cincinnati and Boston, and every city and town in the nation. This widow and her children represent American civilization; and the question is, whether you will give the widow power to make law on this one point. Say she is half-daft

politically, say no woman can reason, say all that you please in support of the nonsense which is often uttered against woman's rights: you can but admit there is great natural justice in allowing the issue, in a town where the question arises whether liquor is to be sold or not, to be determined by the counting of this widow's vote as well as by the vote of that saloon-keeper. [Applause.]

Why should women be allowed to vote in cases of local option as to temperance-laws?

1. It is more difficult for a woman to obtain a livelihood alone than for a man to do so, and so she has a deeper interest than man in the home.

A colossal fact that, and one which will reward the attention of law-makers. It is harder for a woman to start in a trade than for a man to do so. A man expects to continue his trade independently: a woman expects to be married, and to unite her business with that of her husband. Not as many occupations are open to her as to a man, nor is she as well paid for her work as man is for his. For a thousand other reasons the woman left alone is worse off than the man; and so her feeling as to home is usually more intense than man's, to say nothing of her native endowments. We are told by both physiologists and poets that God has given women home attachments such as men rarely possess, and that on the average her heart is deeper and more intense than man's concerning the protection of children.

2. Woman's love of home is the natural antagonist of the enemies of the home, and among these perhaps the most mischievous is intemperance.

3. Woman is less intemperate than man, and so could be trusted to give a purer vote on temperance-laws.

That is a large fact, although I cannot state it without apparent discourtesy to the sex. In the froth of society there are sparkles of strong drink, — God quench them! — and in the dregs we have the rills of intemperance, mixing the mire; but in the middle class of society, which makes up the great body of the people, woman is pure. She is there lifted utterly out of this slough in which man staggers and falls prostrate out of every rank in life. As far less intemperate than man, woman is more likely to have a balanced sound mind on this theme, take her all in all. [Applause.]

4. Woman is less complicated with party intrigue and political ambition, with desire for office, and with business at large, and so would be more free than man to give a vote on the merits of the case.

5. A temperance vote by women would be a test by which the theory of woman's suffrage could be tried on a restricted scale without danger.

6. It would not be an entering-wedge, but only an appeal to experience; and the latter, as it should reveal good or bad tendencies in the theory, would decide the result.

7. Rumsellers oppose the temperance vote of women. I suppose that nothing has ever stirred the liquor-saloons of Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati quite so much as this movement to give the temperance vote to women. If you will show me what the

whiskey ring does not want, I will show you what I do want.

8. The temperance vote is asked for by women in overwhelming numbers, most of whom are not female-suffragists.

9. Such a change as woman's temperance ballot asks for is not connected with high theories as to natural rights to suffrage, nor as to property qualifications.

10. Under English law, women paying taxes can vote in municipal and town elections; and this wider privilege, which has worked well, includes the narrower one of women's temperance vote.

11. In questions where the decision is so easy as that between license and no license, woman's vote would not often be unintelligent, and so would not add to the mass of the ignorant suffrage.

12. In questions so important to the home as those relating to temperance-laws, woman's vote would not often be unused, and so would not add essentially to the dangers of absenteeism at the polls, and of unexercised suffrage.

Pardon me if I say that when on the Berkshire Hills a law concerning temperance is enforced by the legislature on Beacon Hill, there may be some feeling in the sunset that there has been a conspiracy in the sunrise, and that a law so passed may not be, perhaps, quite according to justice. But if, in local option, each town votes and woman votes, how essentially do you strengthen the local sentiment in favor of the execution of the law! When woman

is allowed to vote on the simple question of license or no license, and votes against it, how subtly do you appeal to the colossal force of chivalry; how do you appeal to the church; how do you appeal to the degraded saloon-keeper himself; how do you appeal in the name of suffering homes, and of children on the verge of ruin, for the stern execution of a law adopted under such holy sanction! I am a prohibitionist. In spite of the figures which have been published to show the contrary, I am convinced that under the license-law of this Commonwealth more cases were carried into the waste-basket than there were under the prohibitory law itself, which you said could not be executed, and therefore ought to be repealed. The license-law has not been as well executed as the prohibitory law was in this Commonwealth. [Applause.] (See W. F. SPAULDING'S argument before the legislative committee at this winter's hearings on license.) If you want public sentiment to execute temperance-laws, give woman a vote on temperance. If you want public sentiment to execute educational laws, give woman a vote on education. If the evolution proceeding from these two changes is good, then God will bring the revolution; and, if it is bad, we shall return to the path of the fathers. At any rate, give us the reading test: let us shut out all from suffrage who, born after 1900, will not learn to read and write, and are warned in advance. If you will take away all the evils of ignorant suffrage among men, free society will not be ruined by any evils which may spring from the educational and temperance vote in the hands of women.

Woman's temperance vote is so likely to save the home, and wreck the saloon, that it is worth full trial. Woman's love of home is the natural enemy of the saloon; and I say, God give free course to woman's demand for the temperance ballot until, under home protection, the saloon is throttled by woman's superb attachment to her children!

I am not, I hope, a man of one idea. We part to-day from the subject of socialism; but in discussing this disease I have not confined myself to the eulogy of any one antidote. Among the remedies on which I have placed emphasis are education for factory-children, co-operation, industrial partnerships, labor bureaus, building-societies, model lodging houses, sabbath laws, anti-tramp laws, arbitration boards, natural as distinct from starvation wages, temperance legislation, and woman's vote in regard to temperance-laws. Not democratic, but theocratic equality, is the true watchword of human progress and the ultimate type of society. More than upon any thing else I have insisted on genuinely philanthropic and religious activity on the part of the church as a remedy for the perils of universal suffrage; and if, as we now separate to see each other's faces in this hall perhaps no more forever [the great auditorium of Tremont Temple was destroyed by fire in August, 1879], I could once for all picture my thoughts as to America and the vexed world with the permanent vividness of a single comprehensive symbol, I would say reverently, and with unflinching conviction, that the short road out of

all political disease, and the only road, is the one which begins at Mount Sinai, and passes through the valley of Gethsemane, and ascends the slope of Calvary, and persuades the bruised and staggering ages to throw down their burden before the Cross. [Applause.]

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

By JOSEPH COOK.

THE Boston Monday Lectures are now included in the following eight works: —

Vol. 1. — BIOLOGY, with Preludes on Current Events. (16th edition.)

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HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO., BOSTON.

I. AMERICAN OPINIONS.

The Bibliotheca Sacra for January, 1880.

The Boston Monday Lectureship is now in its fifth year. One hundred and thirty-five lectures on abstruse and difficult topics have been delivered to noon audiences of extraordinary size, and containing sometimes two hundred ministers, with large numbers of teachers and other educated men. Each lecture has been preceded by a short address, called a Prelude on Current Events, and discussing some topic of urgent political or religious importance, like civil service reform, temperance, fraud in elections, Mormonism, the Chinese question, the Bible in schools, the Indian question, or the negro exodus. In revising the stenographic reports, both the lecture and the prelude are usually somewhat expanded by their author, so that a prelude in print is often more than thirty minutes in length. The lecturer has thus treated two important topics on each occasion; and the contrast of the practical matter of the prelude with the more speculative and scientific substance of the lecture, has assisted in fixing public attention upon both. Mr. Cook has been the first speaker to employ preludes in this contrast with theological and metaphysical lectures.

Great pains have been taken to secure the fullest information for the preludes from official sources at Washington and elsewhere. The committee in charge of the Boston Monday Lectureship embraces thirty-six members, of whom twelve are an Executive Board, representing different evangelical denominations in Boston, and twenty-four are scattered through the country all the way to Cail-

fornia. Written permission to add their names to the committee has been given by such men as President McCosh of Princeton College, Professor Hitchcock of New York, Dr. Storrs of Brooklyn, Bishop Huntington of Syracuse, Professor Mead of Oberlin College, Professor Curtiss of Chicago Theological Seminary, Dr. Post of St. Louis, and Drs. Gibson and Stone of San Francisco. It will readily be seen that consultation from time to time by letter with so large and distinguished a committee, and with other public men with whom the lecturer forms acquaintance in his extensive travel, together with the opportunity of wide personal observation, makes the preludes an important source of suggestions as to current reform, and a most useful means of discussing popular evils as they arise. The independence of the platform adds to the effect of its treatment of living issues. It is noticeable, that, in both the Scotch and English republications of Mr. Cook's volumes, the preludes are included in full. It is believed that no leading articles in any newspaper in England or America are so extensively copied by the press as the preludes of the Boston Monday Lectureship. Each one is intended to be a compact prose sonnet, discussing current events from the religious point of view.

The thirty lectures delivered in the second year of the lectureship, which was founded in 1875, are comprised in the three volumes entitled "Biology," "Transcendentalism," and "Orthodoxy." The results of the third year of the lectureship are embraced in the volumes entitled "Conscience," "Heredity," and "Marriage." Those of the fourth year are summarized in the books called "Labor" and "Socialism," now in press. It is understood that the present series of lectures will make two more volumes, to be entitled "Culture" and "Miracles."

During the third year of the lectureship, Mr. Cook gave six lectures in New York City, besides speaking in most of the prominent cities of the North-eastern States. In the season of 1878 and 1879, he conducted a Boston Monday-noon Lectureship and a New York Thursday-evening Lectureship at the same time. In his course of the preceding year in New York City, he had been introduced by presiding officers like Professor Hitchcock, Dr. William Adams, Professor Schaff, and William Cullen Bryant, and the audiences were extraordinarily large. On the closing evening of his second course in New York, some two hundred people were turned away, unable to find standing-room, and the money for their tickets was refunded. In the spring and summer succeeding the last full course of the lectureship, he visited California, and performed a service at the dedication of a chapel in the Yosemite Valley. He studied and discussed Mormonism in Salt Lake City, and the Chinese question in California.

In the year ending July 4, 1878, Mr. Cook delivered one hundred and fifty lectures; sixty in the East, ten of them in New York City, and sixty in the West; besides thirty new lectures in Boston, which were published in that city, New York, and London; issued three volumes, one of which is now in its sixteenth and another in its thirteenth edition; and travelled, on his lecture-trips, ten thousand five hundred miles.

In the year ending July 4, 1879, he delivered one hundred and sixty lectures; seventy-two in the East, twenty of them in Boston and ten in New York, seventy in the West, five in Canada, two in Utah, and eleven in California, of which five were in San Francisco.

He twice crossed the continent in the last four months of the season, and in the last nine months has travelled, on his lecture-trips, twelve thousand five hundred miles. In the former of these seasons he addressed large audiences in sixteen, and in the latter in seventeen, college towns.

It is worth noting that Mr. Cook has no church nor parish work on his hands, although he not infrequently speaks in a church on Sundays. Living opposite the Boston Athenæum Library, and using it as much as though it were his own, the lecturer has found time, outside of all his other work, to carry through the press, in three years, the eight volumes of Monday Lectures, issued by Houghton, Osgood, & Co.

Mr. Cook had a previous preparation of at least ten years' study, at home and abroad, for the discussion of the relations of Christianity to the sciences.

"The New York Independent" owns the copyright of the present series of lectures, and sells the right of republication to other papers. There are now published, and have been for the last two years, over one hundred thousand newspaper copies of the Boston Monday Lectures and preludes in full, and over three hundred thousand copies of the preludes and parts of the lectures. The Committee of the Boston Monday Lectureship reported in March last, that, at a moderate estimate, more than a million readers in the United States and Great Britain are reached weekly.

In September, 1880, Mr. Cook intends to suspend his American lectures for a year, at least, and to seek opportunity for rest and study in England and Germany.

President James McCosh, Princeton College, in the Catholic Presbyterian for September, 1879.

What influence I may have had on Mr. Cook, I do not know; but I am pleased to notice that on intuition and several other subjects, he is promulgating to thousands the same views I had been thinking out in my study, and propounding to my students, in Belfast and in Princeton. From scattered notices, I gather that he was born (in 1838) and reared, and still lives in his leisure days, in that region in which the loveliest of American lakes, Lake Champlain and Lake George, lie embosomed among magnificent mountains. He was trained for college at Phillips Academy, under the great classical teacher, Dr. Taylor; was two years at Yale College, and two years at Harvard, graduating at the latter in 1865, first in philosophy and rhetoric of his class. He then joined Andover Theological Seminary, went through the regular three-years' course there, and lingered a year longer at that place, pondering deeply the relations of science and religion, which continued to be the theme of his thoughts and his study for the next ten years. At this stage he received much impulse from Professor Park, who requires every student to reason out and to defend his opinions; and many sound philosophic principles from Sir William Hamilton and other less eminent men of the Scottish school. He spoke from time to time at religious meetings, and was for one year the pastor of a Congregational church, but never sought a settlement. In September, 1871, he went abroad, and studied for two years, under special directions from Tholuck, at Halle, Berlin, and Heidelberg; and received a mighty influence from Julius Muller of Halle, Dorner of Berlin, Kuno Fischer of Heidelberg, and Hermann Lotze of Gottingen. He then

travelled for a time in Italy, Egypt, Syria, Greece, Turkey, Switzerland, France, England, and Scotland. Returning to the United States in 1873, he took up his residence in Boston, and became a lecturer in New England on the subject to which his studies had been so long directed, the relations of religion and science. For a time he lectured at Amherst College; and, while doing so, he was invited to conduct noon meetings in Boston.

Mr. Cook did not take up the work he has accomplished, as a trade, or by accident, or from impulse; but for years he had been preparing for it, and prepared for it by an overruling guidance. I regard Joseph Cook as a Heaven-ordained man. He comes at the fit time; that is, at the time he is needed. He comes forth in Boston, which is undoubtedly the most literary city in America, and one of the great literary cities of the world. I am not sure that even Edinburgh can match it, now that London is drawing towards it and gathering up the intellectual youth of Scotland. It has a character of its own in several respects. I have here to speak only of its religious character. Half a century ago its Orthodoxy had sunk into Unitarianism — a re-action against a formal Puritanism — led by Channing, who adorned his bald system by his high personal character and the eloquence of his style. People could not long be satisfied by a negation, and Parkerism followed; and a convulsive life was thrown into the skeleton of natural religion by an *a priori* speculation, derived from the pretentious philosophies of Germany, in which the Absolute took the place of God, and untested intuition the place of the Bible. The movement culminated in Ralph Waldo Emerson, a feebler but a more lovable Thomas Carlyle, — the one coming out of a decaying Puritanism, the other out of a decaying Covenanterism. But those who would mount to heaven in a balloon have sooner or later to come down to earth. The young men of Harvard College, led by their able president, have more taste for the new physical science, with its developments, than for a visionary metaphysics. As I remarked some time ago in a literary organ, Unitarianism has died, and is laid out for decent burial. Meanwhile there is a marked revival of Evangelism, and the Congregational and Episcopal churches have as much thoughtfulness and culture as the Unitarians. Harvard now cares as little for Unitarianism as it does for Evangelism — simply taking care that Orthodoxy does not rule over its teaching. But the question arises, What are our young men to believe in these days when Darwinism and Spencerism and Evolutionism are taught in our journals, in our schools, and in our colleges? To my knowledge, this question is as anxiously put by Unitarian parents of the old school, who cling firmly to the great truths of natural religion, and to the Bible as a teacher of morality, as it is by the Orthodox.

Such was the state of thought and feeling, of belief and unbelief, of apprehension and of desire, when Joseph Cook came to Boston without any flourish of trumpets preceding him. Numbers were prepared to welcome him as soon as they knew what the man was, and what he was aiming at. Orthodox ministers, not very well able themselves to wrestle with the new forms of infidelity, rejoiced in the appearance of one who had as much power of eloquence as Parker, and vastly more acquaintance with philosophy than the mystic Emerson, and who seemed to know what truth and what error there are in these doctrines of development and heredity. The best of the Unitarians, not knowing whither their sons were drifting

were pleased to find one who could keep them from open infidelity. Young men, tired of old rationalism, which they saw to be very irrational, delighted to listen to one who evidently spoke boldly and sincerely, and could talk to them of these theories about evolution and the origin of species and the nature of man. The consequence was, his audiences increased from year to year. He first lectured in the Meionaon in 1875. The attendance at noon on Mondays was so large that his meetings had to be transferred to Park-street Church in October, 1876; and finally, in 1876–77, in 1877–78 and 1879, to the enormous Tremont Temple, which is often crowded to excess. In the audience there were at times two hundred ministers, many teachers, and other educated persons. His lectures, in whole or in abstract, appeared in leading newspapers, and his fame spread over all America; and, continuing his Monday addresses in Boston, he was invited, on the other days of the week, to lecture all over the country. He now lectures in the principal cities from the Atlantic to the Pacific, always drawing a large and approving audience.

Some scientific sciolists have thrown out doubts as to the accuracy of his knowledge, but have not been able to detect him in any misstatement of fact. He lightens and thunders, throwing a vivid light on a topic by an expression or comparison, or striking a presumptuous error as by a bolt from heaven. He is not afraid to discuss the most abstract, scientific, or philosophic themes before a popular audience; he arrests his hearers first by his earnestness, then by the clearness of his exposition, and fixes the whole in the mind by the earnestness of his moral purpose.

Rev. Professor A. P. Peabody, of Harvard University, in the Independent.

Joseph Cook is a phenomenon to be accounted for. No other American orator has done what he has done, or any thing like it; and, prior to the experiment, no voice would have been bold enough to predict its success.

We reviewed Mr. Cook's "Lectures on Biology" with unqualified praise. In the present volume we find tokens of the same genius, the same intensity of feeling, the same lightning flashes of impassioned eloquence, the same vise-like hold on the rapt attention and absorbing interest of his hearers and readers. We are sure that we are unbiased by the change of subject; for, though we dissent from some of the dogmas which the author recognizes in passing, there is hardly one of his consecutive trains of thought in which we are not in harmony with him, or one of his skirmishes in which our sympathies are not wholly on his side.

Rev. Dr. Thomas Hill, Ex-President of Harvard University, in the Christian Register.

These lectures are crowded so full of knowledge, of thought, of argument, illumined with such passages of eloquence and power, spiced so frequently with deep-cutting though good-natured irony, that I could make no abstract from them without utterly mutilating them.

Professor Francis Bowen, Harvard University.

I do not know of any work on conscience in which the true theory of ethics is so clearly and forcibly presented, together with the logical inferences from it in support of the great truths of religion.

The Princeton Review.

Mr. Cook has already become famous; and these lectures are among the chief works that have, and we may say justly, made him so. Their celebrity is due partly to the place and circumstances of their delivery, but still more to their inherent power, without which no adventitious aids could have lifted them into the deserved prominence they have attained. . . . Mr. Cook is a great master of analysis. . . . The lecture on the Atonement is generally just, able, and unanswerable. . . . We think, on the whole, that Mr. Cook shows singular justness of view in his manner of treating the most difficult and perplexing themes; for example, God in natural law, and the Trinity.

Boston Daily Advertiser.

At high noon on Monday, Tremont Temple was packed to suffocation and overflowing, although five thousand people were in the Tabernacle at the same hour. The Temple audience consisted chiefly of men, and was of distinguished quality, containing hundreds of persons well known in the learned professions. Wendell Phillips, Edward Everett Hale, Bronson Alcott, and many other citizens of eminence, sat on the platform. No better proof than the character of the audience could have been desired to show that Mr. Cook's popularity as a lecturer is not confined to the evangelical denominations. (Feb. 7.)

It is not often that Boston people honor a public lecturer so much as to crowd to hear him at the noon-tide of a week-day; and, when it does this month after month, the fact is proof positive that his subject is one of engrossing interest. Mr. Cook, perhaps more than any gentleman in the lecture-field the past few years, has been so honored. (Feb. 14.)

The Independent.

We know of no man that is doing more to-day to show the reasonableness of Christianity, and the unreasonableness of unbelief; nor do we know of any one who is doing it with such admirable tolerance yet dramatic intensity.

Professor Borden P. Bowne, of Boston University, in the Sunday Afternoon.

In the chapters on the theories of life, these discussions are, in many respects, models of argument; and the descriptions of the facts under discussion are often unrivalled for both scientific exactness and rhetorical adequacy of language. In the present state of the debate there is no better manual of the argument than the work in hand. The emptiness of the mechanical explanation of life was never more clearly shown.

The Bibliotheca Sacra.

There is no other work on biology, there is no other work on theology, with which this volume of lectures can well be compared; it is a book that no biologist, whether an originator or a mere middleman in science, would ever have written. Traversing a very wide field, cutting right across the territories of rival specialists, it contains not one important scientific misstatement, either of fact or theory. Not only the propositions, but the dates, the references, the names, and the histories of scientific discoveries and speculations, are presented as they are found in the sources whence they are taken, or, at least, with only verbal and minor changes.

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